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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Gorbachev Contacts Foreign Leaders

LD2208222591 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 22 TASS—After telephone communication was restored on August 21, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev contacted U.S. President George Bush.

On August 22, he had telephone conversations with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, British Prime Minister John Major, Prime Minister of Canada Brian Mulroney, Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke, President Francois Mitterrand of France, and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Regrettably, a busy working day prevented Gorbachev from talking to other foreign leaders on Thursday. He hopes to get in touch with them on Friday.

Heads of foreign states and governments congratulated Gorbachev and the Soviet people on the victory of democratic forces over the plotters, who encroached on perestroyka. They praised the role of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the Russian parliament, Muscovites and Leningraders in this victory.

They also discussed with Gorbachev some business questions and prospects for cooperation. They informed the Soviet president about their decision to resume cooperation with and credits to the Soviet Union, which had been suspended because of the coup.

These warm and friendly talks show that the leaders of foreign states share the responsibility for peace and do a great and new deed in the name of security and progress.

Mikhail Gorbachev on Thursday received ambassadors of 12 countries and informed them about the events of the past three days.

He gave his assessment of the coup and commented on its failure.

The ambassadors on behalf of their peoples and states conveyed best wishes to the president and his family, which withstood this hardship, supported him morally and helped him in everything.

The ambassadors delivered a statement to Gorbachev, in which the European Community and EC member-states expressed great relief and satisfaction with the end of the coup, as well as with the victory of democracy and the continuation of reforms in the Soviet Union.

The statement says that an EC resolution of August 20 to suspend credits to the Soviet Union has been cancelled.

NATO 'Will Keep a Close Watch' on Events

PM2308094391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report from PRAVDA-TASS roundup under the general heading "Concerning Events in the USSR"]

[Text] Brussels, 20 Aug—NATO headquarters in Brussels has issued a statement by the NATO secretary general on the situation in the USSR. The statement was made on behalf of the North Atlantic Council. The document says that the council, which held a special session yesterday, conducted an initial analysis of the "very alarming events in the Soviet Union and their possible consequences." Noting that the "USSR domestic and foreign policy pursued in recent years had contributed to the end of the cold war and paved the way for the building of an integrated and free Europe," the NATO allies express apprehension that "the events might do serious harm to the reform movement and to the primacy of human rights in the Soviet Union, and might have serious consequences for the USSR itself, for its neighbors, and for the international community."

The Atlantic allies are expecting the Soviet Union to fully observe its international commitments, it goes on to say. When they signed the Paris charter for a new Europe in November 1990, the USSR and the other states pledged to develop democracy as an essential means of strengthening peace and security among the countries participating in the CSCE process. Any obstacle to democratization in the USSR could not only jeopardize the main political and economic reforms within the country, but also make it less able to form one of the mainstays of the new cooperation order in Europe.

The statement says that "NATO will keep a close watch on the development of the situation in the Soviet Union, paying special attention to ensuring that the USSR's commitments in the human rights sphere are observed vis-a-vis the participants of the reform movement and those who may oppose the current events."

The European Community is suspending economic cooperation with the Soviet Union "until law and order is restored in the country." This decision was made at an emergency session of the EC Council of Ministers here today.

Gorbachev Reinstatement 'Demanded'

PM2208150391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[By V. Peresada: "It Did Not Prove Possible To Smash the Foundation"]

[Text] Brussels, 21 Aug—An emergency session of the NATO Council has been held at the foreign ministerial level to discuss the situation in the USSR.

The news from the Soviet Union delights us and inspires optimism, the final communique says. Resolutely condemning the attempted coup aimed at eliminating the reform process, the NATO countries hope that democracy and legality will be restored in the USSR.

The meeting's participants demanded that M.S. Gorbachev be immediately reinstated as USSR president, assessing the attempt to depose him as absolutely illegal. They stressed that only if the country returns to constitutional order, continues the democratic reforms that it has begun, and observes the international accords concluded over the last few years can the USSR count on western states' aid and the cooperation with NATO that has assumed the nature of regular contacts.

"In other words, we believe that the development of the USSR should first and foremost return to the course from which the coup's organizers tried to dislodge it," Belgian Foreign Minister M. Eyskens told your correspondent. "In that event NATO countries indisputably favor continuing cooperation and building a new Europe together with the Soviet Union, although, needless to say, everyone—you and us—has to learn lessons from what has happened."

Like Belgium's foreign minister, I would like to convey via PRAVDA a few words to Mr. Gorbachev. Here they are:

"During this brief but very dangerous cataclysm life itself confirmed that you were right in beginning the policy of perestroyka. It was this policy that laid a foundation of democracy which it has not proved possible to smash and also linked with its organizer's name the hopes of a vast number of people both in the Soviet Union and worldwide."

Perez de Cuellar Cited on State of Emergency

PM2208135191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "The UN Secretary General's Opinion"]

[Text] United Nations, 20 Aug—UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar was informed of events in the USSR, but he has not yet received the address from Gennadiy Yanayev. The UN secretary general's spokesman informed journalists of this yesterday. At present Perez de Cuellar is in Portugal on a visit.

Answering journalists' questions today, Perez de Cuellar expressed his astonishment and profound concern in connection with the events that had taken place, also noting that it is still too early to speak of how these events would affect the Soviet Union's future.

The UN secretary general expressed the profound hope that violence would be avoided and that what had happened would not bring damage to the Soviet people or derail the process of democratization in East Europe.

Perez de Cuellar stated that the events in the Soviet Union are essentially an internal matter. Nevertheless, the UN secretary general noted that his organization and he himself had received the most significant support from President Gorbachev over the past few years. In Perez de Cuellar's opinion, this support provided great assistance to the United Nations and made it possible to hope that the vision of the world enshrined in the UN Charter would be realized.

EBRD May Lift Credit Restrictions

OW2208052291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Jacques Attali is due to call a board of directors meeting on Thursday to discuss plans for lifting credit ceilings to the Soviet Union, Soviet diplomats told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent in Moscow. Under the agreement, the Soviet Union is not entitled to more than $180 million in credit spread over a three-year period.

Mr. Attali is most likely to arrive in Moscow on Sunday. He is planning to meet with Mr. Yeltsin, Mr. Shevardnadze and Mr. Gorbachev.

Eight Countries Observe Pacific Fleet Exercise

PM2208133191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "About a Pacific Fleet Exercise"]

[Text] As announced earlier, a planned exercise of the Pacific Fleet was held 14-16 August in the northwest part of the Sea of Japan, in a region adjacent to the Soviet coast, under the general leadership of Admiral G.A. Khvatov, commander of the fleet. Foreign observers and representatives of foreign mass media were invited to the exercise.

Notification of the exercise and corresponding invitations were sent to the governments of 18 countries. Eight of them (China, India, the SRV, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and the United Arab Emirates) sent their representatives to Vladivostok. The military attache at the Burmese Embassy in Moscow also participated in observing the exercise.

A large group of foreign journalists from America's ABC, Japan, and XINHUA, as well as representatives of South Korean television and a number of Japanese publications, who came specially, covered these naval maneuvers. Observers and journalists visited the fleet's warships, familiarized themselves with the sailors' routine, and observed the ships' actions at sea while on board the destroyer Bystryy and the large antisubmarine ship Petropavlovsk.

This was not the first time foreign observers were invited to exercises: In the summer of 1989 the Soviet side had welcomed observers from a number of countries in the region. The successful holding of the present exercise and the presence there of a large group of foreign observers represent an undoubted step forward on the way to strengthening mutual understanding, trust, and openness in the military sphere among all the countries of the Asia and Pacific region.

'Intourist' Suffering Losses From Coup

OW2108222491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Foreign tourist agencies continue to cancel trips to the USSR. According to an "Intourist" spokesman, 40 percent of the trips have already been canceled.

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Attempted Coup in Moscow

Bessmertnykh Talks With Strauss

LD2208191291 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh on Thursday received U.S. Ambassador Robert Strauss in connection with the forthcoming presentation of credentials.

Bessmertnykh and Strauss discussed the state of and prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations and the development of a political dialogue between both countries.

Strauss said the United States will consistently support political and economic reforms in the Soviet Union. He welcomed the restoration of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to power and expressed hope that democratic transformations will continue in the Soviet Union.

Strauss said he will promote the strengthening of Soviet-U.S. relations in various spheres.

Media, Official Reaction Noted

PM2208151191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Sukhoy: "'Yesterday's Men' Failed..."]

[Text] New York, 21 Aug—"The latest attempt by 'yesterday's men' to reverse everything and smash democracy in the Soviet Union"—that is how the leading U.S. mass media regard the dramatic events in our country.

The actions of the Committee for the State of Emergency, which were from the very outset regarded here as an unconstitutional coup, came up against the Soviet people's firmness and determination to defend the gains of perestroyka. The men who intended not only to depose Gorbachev but also to do away with all the democratic transformations in the USSR displayed their total lack of knowledge of the sentiments of the inhabitants of their own country. These assessments run through commentaries by leading U.S. television companies.

"At this moment a third revolution is being perpetrated in Moscow," Senator D. Moynihan from New York State noted. "The first was in 1917, the second in 1985 when the era of perestroyka began, and a revolution is now being perpetrated before our eyes that will do away with dogmatism in the Soviet Union once and for all."

J. Matlock, former U.S. ambassador to Moscow, said in an interview with ABC-TV that over the last few hours Russian President B. Yeltsin has displayed staunchness and extraordinary courage and will be able—in cooperation with Gorbachev after the latter is fully reinstated as USSR president—to continue the course of radical democratic reforms even more resolutely.

The reaction in U.S. Government circles to the latest events in the Soviet Union is notable for its caution. White House, State Department, and Pentagon spokesmen noted that they are proceeding on the premise that the right-wing forces' antigovernment coup has ended in failure, but they would not like to anticipate events and give way to excessive euphoria inappropriate in this situation. However, the tenor of the statements has become more optimistic. Everyone hopes that life in the Soviet Union will return to normal in the next few days and constitutional norms will be completely restored.

U.S. To Withdraw Two Divisions From Europe

PM2208135591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

["Own Information"-TASS report under general heading "Foreign Military Chronicle": "They Are Quitting Europe..."]

[Text] Next year the United States will begin to withdraw two of its four combat divisions stationed in Europe, U.S. Army official spokesman P. Keating reported. The withdrawal of the 8th Infantry Division and the 3rd Armored Division, which are deployed in Germany, is part of the U.S. Army's program of reducing U.S. Armed Forces abroad.

It is planned that the transfer of servicemen and combat equipment from Europe will be completed by 1995. This will mean a cut of 71,000 U.S. servicemen on the continent.

As a result of the withdrawal of these divisions, the United States will disband one of its two corps in the European theater of military operations. The V Corps, which will remain on the continent with headquarters at Frankfurt am Main, will include the 1st Armored Division and the 3rd Infantry Division, which will become the principal strike force in the event of war.

The withdrawal of the two army divisions from Europe will be implemented within the framework of the plan, recently announced by the Pentagon, to cut U.S. Armed Forces by about 20 percent over the next four years. This plan also makes provision for an improvement in their structures in order to perform rapid deployment tasks in various regions of the world where conflicts might arise, like the crisis in the Persian Gulf region.

U.S. Studying Nuclear-Powered Missiles

PM2208155191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[Untitled report from PRAVDA-TASS news roundup]

[Text] The U.S. Department of Defense is carrying out a top secret study of the possibility of developing a new generation of missiles with nuclear propulsion units. THE NEW YORK TIMES reports today that back in July experts from the Pentagon's Offensive and Space Systems Agency prepared a report on their research in that field. The document is now being sent out to federal departments and U.S. military-industrial complex corporations for their comments. The project's existence was first reported by the Federation of American Scientists—a public organization that is opposed to the placing of nuclear reactors in space. Its data were later confirmed by official government documents. According to the project's authors, the new missiles will replace existing missiles using chemical fuel. The advocates of this rearmament point out that the use of nuclear propulsion units promises a whole range of advantages—for example, increased missile velocity, and, accordingly, less time to detect and destroy it. It also offers an opportunity to increase missile size and weight.

China

PRC Reaction to Attempted Coup in Moscow

LD2208204991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From correspondents Vladimir Oreshin and Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing, 22 Aug—China respects the choice made by Soviet people and expresses confidence that, with the return of President M.S. Gorbachev to his duties, good neighbor and sincere relations between the PRC and the USSR will continue to develop on the basis of the principles set out in the joint communiques of 1989 and 1991. This was stated today by Qian Qichen, member of the State Council and PRC minister of foreign affairs, in a conversation with N.N. Solovyev, USSR Ambassador to the PRC.

The Chinese Government's invariable position is that the internal affairs of the Soviet Union should be resolved by the Soviet people themselves, the Chinese foreign minister stressed.

Consultations With PRC on Middle East, Gulf

LD2108200291 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Text] Beijing August 21 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov and his Chinese counterpart Yang Fuchang began consultations here today to discuss topical problems of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf zone.

The sides noted the importance of current international efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement in the region, solve the Palestinian problem and convene a peace conference for this purpose.

They stressed the significance of interaction between the Soviet Union and China as permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, in the interests of consolidation of international peace and security.

The deputy ministers stated a broad coincidence of their stands on the situation in the Persian Gulf. They confirmed their readiness to continue cooperation, including that within the U.N. framework, for the sake of the normalisation of relations following the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.

On the same day, Belonogov met member of the Chinese State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen to discuss latest Soviet developments.

The Chinese minister expressed his satisfaction with the fact that Soviet foreign policy remains unchanged and all agreements and treaties will be observed and fulfilled.

He also expressed the hope that current difficulties in the Soviet Union be temporary.

The Soviet Union and China are large and neighbouring countries, a neighbour always wishes well to his neighbour, since it does good to both of them, the minister noted.

Meetings in Beijing are carried out in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding, characteristic of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Further on Consultations

OW2308095391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 0200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Report from Beijing on talks between Soviet Vice Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov and Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Yang Fuchang from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Today, it is not unusual to see Soviets in Beijing because bilateral cooperation in economics, science, and technology, and state-to-state contacts in various aspects have resumed and are growing vigorously. This includes regular consultations between the Soviet and Chinese Foreign Ministries on major international and bilateral matters.

The latest talks focused on Mideast and Gulf issues. It should be noted that Moscow and Beijing have exchanged views on these regional issues many times before. Here, we should also note Soviet President Gorbachev's letters to Chinese leaders at the outbreak of the Gulf war, triggered by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. As everyone knows, at that time, both Moscow and Beijing condemned the invasion. In the end, justice prevailed, and the invaders were punished. However, the Middle East remains a powder keg which can explode at any time and lead to armed conflicts of a scale that cannot be predicted. Therefore, during this round of consultation, it is only natural for both sides to point to the significance of international efforts to solve Mideast issues in an all-round manner. People here noted that to heal an open sore it is necessary to first remove the pus; namely, a fair settlement of the Palestinian issue and the return of the occupied Arab lands by the Israelis. All these [words indistinct] and entangled matters can only be settled in a peace conference at a negotiating table; otherwise, the current tension may grow into a direct conflict. Both the Soviet Union and China endorse the convening of a peace conference.

During the consultation, they also stressed the importance of cooperation between the Soviet Union and China, as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, in consolidating peace and security in the world, including the Middle East. Both sides pledged to continue such cooperation on bilateral basis, as well as within the organization of the United Nations. We firmly believe that the attitude of Moscow and Beijing in solving such long-standing regional crises will soon be understood by belligerent parties in the Middle East.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Government Resumes Aid to USSR

LD2208092691 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo August 22 TASS—The Japanese Government has decided to resume the rendering of assistance to the Soviet Union, that was frozen as a result of the attempted coup. This was announced by general secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers Misozi Sakamoto at a press conference here today.

ROK Boat Detained; Claims Engine Trouble

PM2108134191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report dated 18 August under the "Abroad" rubric: "Soviet Border Guards Have Detained"]

[Text] Soviet Border Guards have detained a South Korean fishing boat in the USSR's territorial waters in the Far East. There were 13 people on board. The YONHAP agency reports today that the incident occurred Saturday morning. The crew members claim that the boat—the Khesun-Kho [name as transliterated]—with a displacement of 106 tonnes, found itself in the position of an involuntary violator owing to a malfunctioning engine.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Previews Cambodian Meeting in Phatthaya

BK2308044791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1100 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] In a few days, the Cambodian Supreme National Council [SNC] will hold another meeting in Phatthaya, Thailand. Also going to this town will be the representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council [UNSC]. The main issue of the forthcoming talks, according to reports, is the peace plan for Cambodia worked out by the United Nations.

Earlier this week, Comrade Chea Sim, chairman of the State of Cambodia's National Assembly, specified that Phnom Penh accepts the UN framework document as the basis for a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

Our commentator, Aleksey Nikolayev, draws the listeners' attention to this point because lately there have been rumors about a solution being worked out to replace the UN plan. This rumor has already been rejected by Hanoi. It is a different story that Phnom Penh still holds, like before, that the UN plan needs to be improved. Generally speaking, Phnom Penh's criticism, in my view, is justified because in the framework document there was no guarantee against the return to power of the Khmer Rouge. Our commentator Aleksey Nikolayev continues.

For this reason, at the meeting in Phatthaya, the discussion of this matter will apparently become the key point. On this issue, Samdech Sihanouk, chairman of the SNC, said he envisages his role as a conciliator between Phnom Penh and the Khmer Rouge. As for the government of Comrade Hun Sen, as Comrade Foreign Minister Hor Namhong said a few days ago, it is ready to compromise and hopes that other parties would also proceed with the same spirit.

What are the Khmer Rouge taking with them to Phatthaya? Nobody knows for sure yet. Whatever the case, it is most reassuring that the SNC's coming meeting and the talks of the SNC members with the representatives of the UNSC five permanent members will be held amidst a calm situation in Cambodia.

Samdech Sihanouk's son, Prince Ranariddh, who a few days ago visited New Zealand, pointed out in a news conference in Wellington the positive results in the process to solve the Cambodian problem. First of all, all parties have abided by the cease-fire. According to Prince Ranariddh, the favorable atmosphere around a solution to the Cambodian problem is also of great significance. This includes the improved Sino-Vietnamese relations and the active participation of China and the Soviet Union in a solution.

We would also like to add another significant event, namely the arrival in Cambodia this week of a group of UN observers, the group which will determine the number of personnel required to supervise the implementation of the cease-fire and the cessation of foreign military aid to Cambodian parties.

In sum, various positive steps concerning a solution to the Cambodian problem have been noticed. As for the remaining difference of views, in the words of Comrade Chea Sim, chairman of the State of Cambodia's National Assembly, this should be overcome within the SNC in the spirit of constructive cooperation among Cambodian parties, concludes our commentator Aleksey Nikolayev.

Implementation of UN Plan for Cambodia Predicted

BK2108045791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Cambodian 1230 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Commentary by Aleksey Kondrachev]

[Text] In accordance with the decision made by UN Secretary General Perez De Cuellar, a special mission is on the way to Cambodia. According to reports, the mission's task is to formulate recommendations on setting up a UN mechanism to control the cease-fire. Thus, is the United Nations now taking direct actions concerning its plan for solving the Cambodian problem? To answer this quesion, here is the view of our commentator Aleksey Kondrachev.

The essence of the matter is the control of the cease-fire, which warring Cambodian parties already agreed upon in early June. Although the agreement has been reached, the cease-fire has been violated, forcing Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, chairman of the the Cambodian Supreme National Council [SNC], to request assistance from the United Nations in this matter. As for the UN role in creating conditions for solving the Cambodian problem, in my view, this is [words indistinct]. It is sufficient to say that last year the Cambodian problem has received the attention of representatives from the five countries that are permanent members of the UN Security Council, the side that has drafted the UN plan for Cambodia. Without going into the details of this plan, I would like to recall that this plan's major points are:

1. The cease-fire and dissolution of armies of all parties [passage indistinct] election under UN auspices to set up a democratic government.

These points clearly show that the United Nations plays in Cambodia the role of the principal peacemaker. It is regrettable that the UN plan has so far not been implemented. The reason is the the difference of views among Cambodian parties, particularly between the government of Comrade Hun Sen and the Pol Pot group, or the Khmer Rouge. However, a ray of hope emerged after the unofficial meeting in Beijing in July of leaders from warring Cambodian parties. It was there that the UN plan was generally agreed upon. In my view, this following fact was also important. After the inter-Cambodian talks in Beijing, the prestige of the SNC—which is the symbol of Cambodia's sovereignty in the transitional period for settling the issue—has also soared.

In my view, the external aspect of the solution has also made headway. Also in Beijing, at a new meeting of representatives from the five countries, permanent members of the Security Council, it was agreed that all kinds of conditions will be created to solve the Cambodian problem quickly. At the recent meeting between the deputy foreign ministers of China and the SRV, attention was also given to the Cambodian problem.

It is apparent that China and Vietnam are now really taking up positions concerning the Cambodian solution. All this leads to the prediction that the start of the UN special mission to set up the control mechanism of the cease-fire will become the goal to implement every point stated in the UN plan for Cambodia, concludes our commentator Aleksey Kondrachev.

Businessmen To Implement Tourism Projects

OW2208044591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Entrepreneurs from South East Asia, including Vietnam, and the association of Soviet Indologists and Sinologists are planning to implement a number of projects in the Soviet Union, including a hotel network, bilateral freight, and tourism.

The hotel complex provides for 100 rooms, a shop, a restaurant and a health centre as well as office space. The Arctic sea route is expected to be used for shipment of regionally-made consumer goods to the Soviet Union in exchange for Soviet fertilisers, rolled steel, and machinery.

Gorbachev Congratulates Phomvihan on Election

PM2108123991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Telegram of Congratulations"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev congratulated K. Phomvihan on his election as president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The telegram expresses in particular hope that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic will continue to develop in the future for the good of our countries, and in the interests of international security and peace.

Near East & South Asia

Envoy Denies 'Arafat Support for Coup

LD2208161691 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Palestine Ambassador to the USSR Nabil 'Amr today refuted information by Russian Television that President of Palestine Yasir 'Arafat allegedly spoke out in favour of the August 18-21 events in the Soviet Union.

"The president of Palestine did not make any statements for local and international mass media during the crisis in the Soviet Union," 'Amr told TASS.

According to the ambassador, 'Arafat gave instruction to regard events in the USSR as an internal affair of the country and reaffirmed the Palestine Liberation Organisation's adherence to the continuation and deepening of friendship with the Soviet state, represented by constitutional and democratic organs and institutions.

The ambassador expressed conviction that the Soviet people are capable of overcoming difficulties in dealing with their problems and maintaining a normal situation and political stability in the country.

"We hope that the USSR will continue its mission in the name of peace and justice in the world on the whole and in the Middle Eastern region, in particular," he said.

Palestinian Envoy on Conference Opportunities

LD2208215891 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—The Palestine Liberation Organisation advances a new formula regarding a Palestinian mission at a possible international Middle East peace conference, Nabil 'Amr, ambassador of the state of Palestine, said in an interview to TASS today. However, he did not specify the essence of these new initiatives.

The ambassador said that the questions of a Palestinian mission and Jerusalem's problem were central to the negotiations between the Palestinian delegation, headed by members of the PLO executive Mahmud 'Abbas and Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, and the Egyptian leadership. Nabil 'Amr also said that negotiations between Palestinian representatives and Jordanian officials are to take place tomorrow.

The Palestinian ambassador said that negotiations and proposals advanced by the PLO lead to the opening of new opportunities to resolve problems arising in the run-up to the international conference on the Middle East.

Israeli 'Destructive Stance' on Settlement

PM2208100591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by V. Lashkul: "Israel's Destructive Stance"]

[Text] The three most influential organizations within the PLO have arrived at a united viewpoint on the Palestinians' position at the upcoming Near East conference. They are the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Fatah, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Reporting this, AFP notes that the Palestinian delegation's main demands will be an end to Israeli occupation of seized Arab lands, the exercise of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and a fair Near East settlement based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Bassam Abu-Sharif, political adviser to PLO Chairman Y. 'Arafat, stated that these questions will be on the agenda of the Palestinian National Council session opening in Algiers in mid-September. According to his assessment, the United Nations is taking positive measures regarding the holding of a Near East conference, the calling of which was initiated by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Jordanian Prime Minister Tahir al-Masri has called for constructive talks on untangling the Arab-Israeli conflict. He stressed that the key problem of the Near East crisis is the Palestinian question. T. al-Masri noted that Jordan will never agree to stand in for the Palestinians at the international conference. At the same time, even if the Palestinians do not participate in it, the Jordanian prime minister stated, Amman will not refuse to work in such a forum to gain satisfaction of Palestinians' legal rights and Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the River Jordan, and the Golan Heights.

Unfortunately, Tel Aviv continues to take a destructive stance on settling the Near East conflict. When speaking to Israeli settlers in the Tel Aviv-occupied Golan Heights, the country's Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir repeated that these lands will remain an integral part of the State of Israel and that Jews "should not be concerned over the results of the peace conference." Minister of Foreign Affairs David Levi reaffirmed for the umpteenth time on Israeli radio that his country is categorically against the participation of Palestinians from East Jerusalem (it was annexed by Israel in 1981) in the Near East conference. Henceforth the Israeli Government intends to persecute the influential Palestinian figures Faysal al-Husayni, Zakariyya al-Agha, and Hanan 'Ashrawi who are having political consultations with the PLO, which the world community recognizes as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative.

These steps by Israeli leaders put a question mark over the stabilization of the situation in the region and the projected peaceful settlement in the Near East.

Gorbachev, Najibullah Exchanged Jubilee Messages

PM2108160791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 91 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev sent President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of Afghanistan's national festival—Independence Restoration Day. It states that this date is being celebrated at a complex and crucial stage in the history of Afghanistan, when there is no more urgent task than that of ending the fratricidal war. The telegram emphasizes the Soviet Union's support for the efforts of the government of the Republic of Afghanistan to restore calm on Afghan soil and achieve a political settlement as quickly as possible.

President Najibullah writes in a reply telegram that the Afghan people rate highly the Soviet Union's support for the efforts of the government of the Republic of Afghanistan to achieve peace and stability. He voices firm confidence that the friendly relations that exist between the Soviet and Afghan Governments and peoples will continue to strengthen and develop on the basis of mutual advantage.

Spokesman Cited on Western Sahara Referendum

PM2108143591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Unidentified TASS correspondent report: "Toward a Poll on Saharan Settlement"]

[Text] The complications that have recently arisen in the situation concerning the holding of a UN-controlled referendum in Western Sahara on the Saharan people's self-determination, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said in reply to a question from a TASS diplomatic correspondent, is causing increasing concern.

It is known that the Soviet Union has not only welcomed UN efforts to untangle the Saharan knot by peaceful political means, taking into account the interests of all the affected and interested parties, but has also expressed its readiness to take part in the practical aspects of holding a referendum.

Attaching great importance to the implementation of the plan for a peaceful settlement in Western Sahara, which has been approved by the UN Security Council, we reaffirm our firm support for the efforts the UN secretary general is making on the preparations for and holding of a referendum in Western Sahara within the agreed deadlines.

East Europe

Gorbachev Thanks CSFR Government for Solidarity

LD2208194891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] A personal message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev expressing his thanks to the Czechoslovak government for its attitude during the crisis in the Soviet Union and its solidarity shown with the legal Soviet leadership, with him personally and with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, was delivered to Federal Premier Marian Calfa by USSR ambassador Boris Pankin early this evening.

President Gorbachev asked the Czechoslovak premier to pass his cordial thanks to Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, and members of the federal government.

Mikhail Gorbachev's message also includes information that a democratic regime is being established in the Soviet Union again and that the leadership is going to concentrate on solving pressing tasks. The Soviet president also hopes that Czechoslovakia's relations, above all economic relations, with the Soviet Union will not be negatively affected in any way, and stresses that nowadays his country needs above all medicine and food.

Ambassador Boris Pankin also briefed Marian Calfa about the latest developments in his country.

Marian Calfa praised the fact that all political forces in Czechoslovakia had unequivocally condemned the military putsch in the Soviet Union and had made this clear. He also assessed in a very positive way the fact that Soviet troops have already left our territory. He noted that all of us have welcomed with relief the fact that the situation in the Soviet Union has returned to normal, and he expressed hope that nothing of this kind would be repeated. He also expressed the wish that our economic relations will continue to develop.

Envoy Thanks CSFR for Support

LD2208163891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Ruzhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Boris Pankin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, has thanked through the CTK the leadership of our state, the political parties and movements, and all Czechoslovak citizens. He expressed his gratitude for their demonstration of solidarity and support for the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin, and for all democratic forces in the Soviet Union as well as for Soviet diplomatic representatives during this period, which was so tragic for the Soviet Union.

Coup Sparks 'Gasoline Fever' in Czechoslovakia

PM2308081391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

["Prague on the Line" report by correspondent A. Krushinskiy: "Appeal For Calm"]

[Text] 20 Aug—It is the custom that any exacerbation of the situation in the USSR is reflected in Czechoslovakia primarily by... "gasoline fever."

At 0600 yesterday local radio stations started bombarding the population with news of the "coup" in Moscow and eminent local politicians' reactions to events in the USSR, and four hours or so later the lines at service stations were already hundreds of meters long. Reassuring statements by the top Czechoslovak leaders to the effect that the country was "in no direct danger" did not help: At midday you had to wait at least an hour to fill up with gas. Especially as, at the same time and contrary to the calls for calm, the radio was announcing "intensified protection of the Czechoslovak-Soviet border" and the establishment of a "special security headquarters" by the federal Ministry of Internal Affairs.

It should be noted that the reaction to events in the USSR in Slovakia (which borders on the USSR) was obviously calmer and more composed than in Prague. Slovak Republic government head Jan Carnogursky, when asked by a television correspondent yesterday evening whether the present events might affect relations between Slovakia and the USSR, replied: "At the moment I do not see the present events in the USSR as a threat either to the Slovak Republic or to Czechoslovakia. This development could complicate relations if the situation in the USSR continues along a dramatic path. It would certainly affect us, because it might result in an influx of immigrants in numbers we would find difficult to handle. Economic links could become difficult too." The Slovak premier also stressed that he did not see a threat of the restoration of the "totalitiarian past" either in the USSR or in Czechoslovakia.

But it is also a feature of the "Czechoslovak-style" interpretation of events in the USSR that extreme right-wing forces are trying to use them to bring about a "clampdown in the country and force the opposition out of the political arena," as evidenced by the statement published by a number of the leaders today. Take, for example, the appeals by the national social party (not that influential, actually) for the convening of a Prague conference of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, with the participation of NATO representatives, and for the "activation" of reserve officers and warrant officers!

But it is clear from reports coming in that all is quiet at border crossings.

The Prague newspaper HALO NOVINY today published the full text of a statement by Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. "It is entirely the business of the Soviet peoples how they react to the changes," he stressed. "We are convinced that the process of social humanization and democratization is the only path of development on a worldwide scale."

Oil Obligations Met

OW2208052391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet oil exports to Czechoslovakia have increased to 30,000 tonnes on August 20 from 23,000-25000 tonnes two days earlier, Moscow-Based daily TRUD reported. Gas exports also held steady.

CSFR Restricts Travel by USSR Citizens

PM2108150991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Entry Procedure Amended"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Federal Republic Internal Affairs Ministry has amended the procedure for Soviet citizens' entry into the country. According to the new rules, the CTK agency announced today, permission to enter on private invitation will only be given to people going to Czechoslovakia for funerals and weddings, to see a close relative who is seriously ill, or to pay an official visit to a state institution, on presentation of documentary confirmation of the purpose of the visit. Authorizations to visit Czechoslovakia issued before 19 August are no longer valid. People will be able to travel to Austria and the FRG via Czechoslovakia only if they have entry visas for those countries. Soviet citizens are barred from traveling to Poland and Hungary via Czechoslovakia. The above rules do not apply to people traveling to Czechoslovakia on official business.

Soviet Naval Detachment Ends Visit to Constanta

PM2208131191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Visits Concluded"]

[Text] Constanta, 19 Aug—An official visit by a detachment of Soviet warships including the antisubmarine warship Azov and the patrol ship Bezukoriznennyy have concluded an official visit to the Romanian port of Constanta. During the visit the commander of the cruise—Vice Admiral G. Gurinov, chief of staff of the Black Sea Fleet—held meetings with Romanian National Defense Minister C. Spiroiu, who visited the Soviet warships; C. Iordache, chief of staff of the Romanian Navy; and other officials.

The visit by the Soviet warships to Constanta aroused considerable interest among both the population of the city and its guests. The crews of the Soviet ships were especially courteous toward the descendants of the sailors of the battleship Potemkin, who remained in Romania after the mutiny on the ship was crushed.

The Black Sea Fleet seamen visited the monuments and museums of Constanta and met with Romanian sailors.

Soviet-Polish Treaty, Relations Discussed

91UF1098A PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 5

[Article by Mikhail Tretyakov in the column "Notes by an Essayist": "Neighbors Live Side by Side"]

[Text] **A new state-to-state Soviet-Polish treaty has now been in preparation for months, and the visit to Moscow by President of the Republic of Poland Lech Walesa has been delayed for this reason. The timing of the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Polish territory has not been determined either. Here is one more "contribution" to the same collection: Specialists estimate that the turnover of trade between the USSR and Poland may drop by one-half this year. Perhaps I will not been in error if I say that precisely these issues which are painful for both countries reflect the current picture of the entire set of relations between Moscow and Warsaw. Moreover, they cause mutual mistrust and suspicion, fueled by certain mass media from both sides.**

What is happening to our traditional neighborly relations? Why is a mechanism of cooperation which used to operate with precision beginning to jam increasingly often now? All of the above are difficult and at times interdependent problems. The establishment of healthy contact between our countries based on good neighborly relations will depend on whether we succeed in figuring out these problems on time and eliminating barriers which have arisen artificially.

How are these complex issues covered across the bug? For example, this is what the influential GAZETA WYBORCZA wrote recently: "Despite optimistic predictions, some leaders of Polish diplomacy are apprehensive about the Soviet Union delaying both the withdrawal of troops from Poland and a new treaty as it awaits the results of the October parliamentary election in Poland. According to the same assessments, Walesa's visit to Moscow will be postponed for precisely these reasons."

One may conclude from the above that the USSR is supposedly responsible for unresolved issues in the sphere of mutual relations. However, let us examine these complex and intricate problems quietly and without emotion.

Indeed, Walesa's visit to the USSR has been delayed, despite the fact that, according to preliminary data, he was supposed to come to our country as early as May of this year. What is the reason for postponing the visit? It is not too difficult to explain. This has to do with the fact that our side conveyed the draft treaty to the relevant Polish department ahead of time. However, as time went on, no signals were received from Warsaw. Apparently, they studied the draft attentively there. The scheduled date of the visit was drawing closer, but there was no answer. Of course, we are always happy to receive guests. However, as international practice indicates, meetings between the leaders of two countries are important in principle and outline strategic avenues for the development of mutual relations which is reflected in appropriate documents, all the more so when Poland is at issue; Poland has always been of key significance for the foreign policy course of our country.

Judging by the Polish press, Warsaw came out against the Soviet proposal that our neighbor across the Bug not sign treaties and alliances which could threaten the security of the USSR. This, of course, has to do with the NATO bloc, which remains the only international military structure in Europe after the Warsaw treaty dissolved itself. One would think that there is nothing unnatural about the desire of the Soviet people to live in safety and have on their border, at the very least, neutral neighbors who do not participate in any military blocs. However, on the other hand, we cannot but be alarmed by pronouncements such as, for example, the one in the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY. During Walesa's visit to NATO headquarters in July of this year, ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote: "Poland expects that the policy of partnership with the countries of Eastern Europe pursued by the North Atlantic pact and the expansion of bilateral military cooperation with them by NATO member countries mean in practice the extension of 'a defensive umbrella' to this segment of our continent as well. As Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland K. Skubiszewski said in a conversation with journalists, NATO has made a clear declaration: The security of Poland is an integral part of the security of the member countries of the North Atlantic bloc."

As the newspaper reported, the following was stated at a meeting in Brussels between Walesa and NATO General Secretary M. Woerner: "Any attack on Poland or other countries of Central Europe would cause 'stern response measures' on the part of the North Atlantic alliance."

It is strange to listen to such statements now that we are solving a most complicated problem associated with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland which has already begun. However, much to our regret, it is taking place in an atmosphere of a slanderous and clearly anti-Soviet campaign mounted by a segment of the Polish press which portrays Soviet soldiers as occupiers in Poland. In all of this, they fail to mention for some reason that more than 600,000 Russian men died while liberating Poland from the fascist occupiers who doomed the Polish people to destruction. It is not mentioned either that after the war, the Northern Group of Forces of the Soviet Army was deployed along the Odra-Nysa Luzycka line at the request of the Polish side. Our soldiers guaranteed the inviolability of the Polish Western border. If we leaf through the statements of Polish leaders in the past decade, this thesis was always central. Such was the international situation at the time.

The local mass media attempt to foist on Polish society the view that in the years since, our troops have done tremendous damage to the republic. I am looking at protocol No. 1 of a meeting of Soviet and Polish representatives dated 3 August 1950 which says that, at the request of the Polish side, a decision had been made to plant winter grains in Poland using the resources of the Northern Group of Forces. After all, these were the hard post-war years of restoring the economy destroyed in the course of combat, and this request was made out of need. We may also cite other examples of selfless aid to the Polish population by Soviet soldiers. However, for some reason they are now passed over in silence. Yet, documents are available which are hard to argue with.

Protracted and complicated negotiations on the issue of withdrawing Soviet troops are underway. Initially, the Polish side set strict conditions for us to the effect that the withdrawal should be completed before the end of this year. Mindful of the bitter experience of withdrawing units from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the suffering which befell the family members of officers and warrant officers who ended up living virtually outdoors, we offered a later, but realistic date. By now, Warsaw has softened its position and is talking about mid-1992; for our part, we suggest the end of 1993. The negotiations continue and, judging by hopeful signals from Moscow and Warsaw, in all likelihood a compromise will be found.

To be sure, one more problem arises at this point which is associated with transferring the facilities and assets left behind, which cost a lot of money, to the Polish side. Counterclaims are made against us to the effect that, supposedly, our units have inflicted considerable economic losses which go into tens of trillions of zlotys. Of course, we could abandon everything and go as, in essence, has been the case in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but are we really so rich at present that we can allow ourselves such a gesture? It is necessary to resolve this issue in keeping with existing laws and taking mutual advantage into account.

The issue of withdrawing Soviet troops from the territory of Poland is a burning concern for the Soviet people. The political climate on our planet is now changing in the direction of warming. By now, we no longer need to have troops outside the borders of our motherland whose maintenance costs the people a pretty penny. However, our units have an absolute moral right to leave Poland with honor and dignity, as soldier-liberators should. This is why we may understand from a human point of view the outrage of the working people, especially that of war veterans, expressed in their letters to the editor in conjunction with unfriendly acts with regard to our soldiers and officers serving with the Northern Group of Forces and to the memory of their fathers and grandfathers who are now at rest in the land of long-suffering Poland.

I will quote an excerpt from a letter signed by Colonel V.G. Melkov, Lieutenant General V.G. Filimonov, Junior Lieutenant I.I. Smagin, and 20 more veterans of the Great Patriotic War. They write: "The graves of fallen Soviet soldiers are defiled more and more often, and monuments commemorating the contribution of our soldiers to liberating Poland from fascism are desecrated. Unfriendliness is demonstrated, and in a number of cases a hostile attitude toward our soldiers and officers—the grandsons of those who fought courageously and died in battles for the freedom of that country... The current leaders and representatives of various parties in Poland insist on withdrawing Soviet troops as soon as possible, being well aware of the difficult conditions in which they put our servicemen, primarily officers, warrant officers, and members of their families. Is this not inhuman? They strive to erase from the memory of their people the heroic exploits of the Soviet soldiers and Polish patriots committed in the course of the liberation of Poland. At present, Polish authorities demand that we pay for each train of ours traveling on Polish railways which were virtually built anew by Soviet soldiers after the war.

"We believe that the deadline for withdrawing our troops from Germany and Poland should dovetail with the deadlines for withdrawing from Germany the troops of the United States, England, France, and other states in order to prevent the infringement of the interest of our country."

The state of affairs in Soviet-Polish economic cooperation is not gratifying. Our economic interaction, which used to be well tuned, is in a deep crisis now. The Polish side blames us for the existing state of affairs: Supposedly, the Soviet Union was hasty when it switched to freely convertible currency in mutual settlements effective 1 January of this year. However, is this the case? After all, it is well known that Poland was one of the initiators of eliminating CEMA and switching to settlements in dollars. By now, a paradoxical situation has emerged in our economic relations: We need to settle in hard currency, whereas neither our nor Polish enterprises have it. Polish plants and factories which used to deliver the bulk of their output to our country and had a stable position are now experiencing tremendous problems. The threat of bankruptcy is looming for many of these enterprises. There are hundreds of them, primarily in the defense, aircraft, shipbuilding, and electrical engineering industries, and in the production of the means of communication.

In a conversation with me, J. Kowalczyk, general director of the L. Warynski Warsaw Production Association, which specializes in producing hydraulic excavators and power hydraulics, referred with great alarm to the present situation and prospects for cooperation with Soviet partners. In his opinion, the new system of interstate settlements has dealt a devastating blow to our trade. The enterprise is facing a very difficult situation. Soviet customers have no dollars to pay for the products offered. Meanwhile, excavators with the Warynski brand are known well in our country. More than 8,000 of these machines are in operation in various corners of our country. An extensive servicing network has been created in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, and Alma-Ata.

What is to be done now? Are traditional, established contacts to be severed, new partners to be found, and goods to be imported from across the ocean? What is to be done about the textile industry and the consumer goods which we used to receive in large amounts from our neighbor across the Bug?

I believe that we should abandon ambitions and prejudice, sit down at the negotiating table, and discuss these issues in earnest. After all, if this state of affairs persists, both countries will continue to suffer enormous losses in the future, to say nothing about the fact that the army of the unemployed in Poland, which already numbers more than 1.5 million people, will increase considerably due to the liquidation of enterprises geared toward exports to the USSR. In our country, a shortage of goods will continue to be felt. I agree entirely with the view of J. Kowalczyk that settlements in dollars are only possible when we have a strong economy and firm finances. It is necessary to find a new equivalent in mutual exchange instead of the old CEMA transferable ruble.

Demands of Polish society to restore normal relations, primarily in the economic sphere, are becoming louder. Propaganda techniques aimed at blaming the USSR for the difficult situation in the Polish economy and saying that Moscow has supposedly blocked mutual trade, and consequently economic dislocations appear in Poland—production declines, enterprises are idle or close, and the standard of living declines—no longer work. At a recent meeting of the Sejm, it was stated clearly that reasons for a drop in production and economic difficulties are found primarily in serious miscalculations in the government's economic policy.

Z. Bujak, a well-known Solidarity activist and currently chairman of the Democratic Social Movement, who can hardly be accused of being a supporter of the USSR, also believes that a reevaluation of the significance of relations with the Soviet Union has begun in Poland, in view of the consequences of the destruction of commercial ties after a transition to settlements in hard currency. In his opinion, an increasing number of Poles are aware that any display of anti-Soviet rhetoric threatens their own existence and interest. This is why they demand that vigorous measures be taken to normalize Polish-Soviet commercial relations.

The recently signed agreement on deliveries of the products of the Polish pharmaceutical industry to the USSR in exchange for Soviet oil may open a path in this direction. Let us hope that this will be the case.

The Soviet Union and Poland are neighbors, and there is nothing that can change this situation. The leaders and sociopolitical systems change, but the two Slavic peoples will always live next to each other. All kinds of things, good and bad, happen between neighbors. However, we think that the good will prevail after all, and the bad needs to be discarded. A visit by the president of Poland to the USSR will open a new chapter in the history of our relations. We would like to believe that principles of good-neighborliness, cooperation, and friendship will be their cornerstone.

Polish Aide Says Talks Offer 'Hope of Success'

PM2308123391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Volkov: "Latest Round of Talks"]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Aug—The latest, 11th, round of Soviet-Polish talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Republic of Poland's territory and associated questions began here today. In an interview with a PAP correspondent, Jerzy Sulka, leader of the Polish delegation and director of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs department, described these talks as difficult but offering hope of success.

West Europe

Further European Reaction to Attempted Coup

Gorbachev Meets With EC Envoys

LD2308112391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent S. Goryachev]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met today in the Kremlin with the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the member states of the European Community. During the conversation the president expressed his hope for EC support for the policy of reforms in the Soviet Union.

[Gorbachev, seen shaking hands with unidentified official and talking to the group as a whole] ...practical deeds, and I hope that the organizations which you represent will not stand aside from our efforts to improve the socioeconomic situation in society. [video shows one of the ambassadors handing Gorbachev a document]

[Goryachev] The president was handed a note from the European Community. The Italian ambassador handed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev a personal message from the President of the Italian Republic. [video shows note being handed over]

[Goryachev addresses British Ambassador Braithwaite] Ambassador, please tell us what you just said to Soviet President Gorbachev.

[Sir Rodric G. Braithwaite, identified by screen caption] I congratulated him on how well he looked, and on his health, and, of course, on the end of this coup.

[Goryachev] On what has happened here?

[Braithwaite] Yes. We congratulated him, and then he told us what had happened and how it happened.

[Goryachev] Can you tell us, was this meeting at the president's initiative, or at the initiative of the ambassadors?

[Braithwaite] This was at the president's initiative.

[Goryachev] What, in your view, are the prospects for economic relations between the Soviet Union and your West European partners?

[Braithwate] I think that the prospects are wide, much better even than, say, they were on the 19th. I hope so, at least. [video shows Braithwaite shaking hands with correspondent]

Gorbachev Thanks UK

LD2208190891 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Zamyatin, USSR ambassador to Great Britain, has passed on to the British government a message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. In it he expressed his deep gratitude to the British people for their support of the Soviet people at a time of hard trial.

Major Interviewed on Events

LD2208172191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov and Yuriy Levchenko]

[Text] London, 22 August (TASS)—John Major, prime minister of Great Britain, today gave an interview to TASS correspondents in which he expressed his opinion on recent events in the USSR.

Question: What are your feelings on the first full day of the restoration of legal constitutional authority in the Soviet Union?

Answer: I am absolutely delighted at the outcome. The coup was illegal and anticonstitutional. It contradicted the interests of Soviet people. It was an attempt again to restore repressions and put an end to reforms. We clearly realized that this attempt would fail and immediately came out in support of those who were demanding the release of President Gorbachev and the restoration of constitutional rule. I think that this is a very good day for the whole world and especially for the Soviet Union: the coup attempt has failed.

Question: Did you doubt for a minute that the coup was doomed to fail?

Answer: In the short term the coup could have succeeded but the new regime would not have held out for long. Reforms in the Soviet Union had given people a degree of political freedom which they had not had for generations. I had no doubt that Soviet people wanted to preserve this freedom.

Question: In connection with the normalization of the situation in the USSR, you said that there was a need to review the whole range of issues involved in cooperation between western countries and the USSR in accelerating reforms. Could you dwell on that in greater detail please.

Answer: One of the obstacles on the road to reform in the USSR was the very people who led the coup attempt. This obstacle has now been removed. I think that this gives grounds to say that circumstances have changed. Nobody in the Soviet Union today can doubt that the process of reforms is irreversible. President Gorbachev and the democratically elected presidents of the republics are for reforms. So they will continue. It is very probable that they will now be carried out more quickly than before. We consider that this indeed is what the Soviet Union needs. We think that it is in the interests of Soviet people and in the interests of the whole world. In these changed circumstances I think it would be right for us to have a further look at the level of cooperation between the "seven" and its individual member countries and the Soviet Union and the republics.

Question: What would you like to say to Soviet people?

Answer: This is a day of great hopes and great expectations as regards what you can achieve along the road of reforms. Soviet people have demonstrated beyond all doubt that they want to continue these reforms.

Gorbachev Meets French Delegation

LD2308095691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0828 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—It has been officially reported here today that on 22 August USSR President M.S. Gorbachev had a short meeting with a delegation from France, comprised of M. Vauzelle, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly; J. Lecanuet, chairman of the Commission on Foreign Affairs and Defense in the Senate; J-M. Boucheron, chairman of the Commission on National Defense in the Armed Forces; and E. Wiesel, 1986 Nobel Prize winner.

The delegation conveyed a message from President F. Mitterrand to M.S. Gorbachev. Members of the delegation congratulated M.S. Gorbachev on the victory of freedom and democracy over reaction. In France, this victory has been unanimously received as a pledge that changes in the Soviet Union are irreversible.

The USSR President expressed gratitude for France's firm and consistent position during difficult days for the Soviet people.

French Communists Question CPSU Silence

PM2308084191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Bolshakov: "Opinion of the French"]

[Text] Paris, 21 Aug—All French political parties have condemned the attempted "coup d'etat" in the USSR. The president and the French Government backed the stance taken by the White House, which demanded that the State Committee for the State of Emergency be disbanded and M.S. Gorbachev released from custody and reinstated as USSR president,

RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev, who was visiting Paris en route to the United States and had official meetings here with his French counterpart and other officials, was accorded a very warm reception.

A. Kozyrev delivered a statement backing the decisions adopted by EEC foreign ministers in The Hague. He urged Western "public opinion and governments to condemn the coup d'etat in the USSR and demand the return of the legitimate president, Mikhail Gorbachev, and backing for all democratic forces, above all B. Yeltsin."

There is unconditional support here for B.N. Yeltsin and all the legally elected—this is particularly stressed—authorities.

P. Maurois, chairman of the French Socialist Party [PSF], sharply condemned the coup during a news conference yesterday. He said that the coup would only speed up the disintegration of the Soviet Union, along with the disorganization of the economy and other negative processes, and would only cause the Soviet people fresh sufferings. He said that the military coup may also jeopardize the disarmament process begun by M. Gorbachev. The PSF supported B.N. Yeltsin and demanded that USSR President M.S. Gorbachev be immediately released from custody and reinstated.

The French press and its public and political figures noted the totally incomprehensible long silence by CPSU leadership bodies regarding events that have taken place and are taking place in the Soviet Union. People here reckon that this silence attests to lack of unity within CPSU ranks as regards support for the current Soviet authorities, and to the CPSU leadership's reluctance to identify itself with the antidemocratic steps taken by the State Committee for the State of Emergency. French Communists and members of militant French trade unions voiced perplexity at this silence during both interviews and conversations with Soviet representatives. "We want to know what position the CPSU holds"—the PRAVDA office in France received this cable signed by Communists from Brittany yesterday.

Italians Call for General Strike

PM2208135991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report under the general heading "International Reaction to Events in the USSR: Italy"]

[Text] A report from AFP's Rome correspondent states that leading Italian trade unions have appealed to working people around the country with a call to hold a one-hour general strike 28 August as a sign of protest against the overthrow of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

German Charity To Continue Aid

LD2008211391 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bonn, August 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Sergei Sosnovskiy:

We will fulfill our programs of humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union in accordance with the schedule—without delays and breaks, representative of the West German CARE Deutschland charity organisation, Klaus Noeldner, said here today.

Since the end of last year, the organisation began to raise funds for Soviet people with low income. The proceeds from charity actions are used to make standard packages of food and prime necessities, which are delivered to various Soviet cities and shared between pensioners, invalids and orphans.

Several tons of high-quality foodstuffs have just been distributed in 34 towns and regions of the USSR.

The work is done with support of the Soviet charity and health fund, the head of which, Vadim Menshikov, is now staying in Bonn to coordinate further actions with CARE Deutschland.

Our cooperation aims to help people in need. And we will not deviate from this aid regardless of any political cataclysms or changes of government, Noeldner said.

He said that a new stage of charity help to Soviet people will now begin—the distribution of 400 tons of medicines, medical equipment and auxiliary means among 80 hospitals in the European part of the USSR and old people's homes.

In addition, CARE Deutschland will help to equip a children's orthopedic center with new operation halls, anaesthesic and roentgen installations.

Eight out of twenty mobile dental cabinets are expected to be sent to Moscow late this August. The dental laboratories mounted on cross-country vehicles will be able to provide for medical care in the countryside.

CARE Deutschland plans another several projects in the USSR and is now carrying out negotiations with Soviet partners, Noeldner said.

Ties With German Business Not Weakened

OW2308010591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2051 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The newspaper "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" believes that the Soviet crisis should not lead to a weakening of Soviet-German business ties.

According to the newspaper, Soviet partners repeatedly notified leading West German companies that they would be faithful to the signed agreements and contracts.

Soviet natural gas supplies that meet some 30/

of German needs of this kind of fuel "are coming just as usual," said a spokesman of the Ruhrgas AG concern.

Chairman of German PDS Interviewed

91UF1100A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Hans Modrow, honorary chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism, during his recent visit to Moscow, by correspondent A. Lukyanov; date not given: "'Democratic Socialism Does Not Mean Improved Capitalism'..."]

[Text] [begin boxed passage]Information: Hans Modrow was born on 27 January 1928 in Jasenica to a worker's family. After school, he started work in industry. From the end of the 1940's through 1961 he worked in the Free German Youth League. Then in party work in the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. As of 1958, H. Modrow was a candidate, and as of 1967, a member, of the SED Central Committee and was in the period 1971-1973 head of the SED Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department. In 1973, he became first secretary of the Dresden District SED Board. At the SED Central Committee Plenum held 8-10 November 1989, H. Modrow was elected member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. In the course of the dramatic events of the fall of 1989, H. Modrow became chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, heading the coalition government. In February 1990, H. Modrow formed a government of national responsibility.

He participated actively in the creation of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS]. At the all-German elections of 2 December 1990, the Left List-PDS bloc obtained more than 12 percent of the vote, securing 17 seats in the Bundestag. At the Second PDS Congress, in the present year, Hans Modrow was reelected honorary chairman of the party.

He is by education a social scientist and economist. In 1966 he defended his master's thesis in the field of economics. He is married, with two daughters.[end boxed passage]

The Party of Democratic Socialism of the FRG is going through difficult times, which was confirmed by stage two of its Second Congress in June. Some 110,000 persons had in the year preceding the party forum left its ranks. Prior to the congress, many people were predicting a split in the party, although this was avoided. At the present time the PDS has 242,000 members. Of these, more than 40 percent are aged 60 and over, 10.5 percent are 30 and under. Almost half the party members—45 percent—work part-time or are on the list of those due to be given notice.

The situation in the democratic parties of West European countries, in the German PDS included, is of interest to many PRAVDA readers. We offer them today an interview with Hans Modrow, honorary chairman of the PDS, which he granted our correspondent in the course of his recent visit to Moscow.

[Lukyanov] Discussion has begun within the CPSU of the draft party program, and extensive debate on the concept of democratic socialism is under way. There is a similar situation in your party. PRAVDA readers would be interested in knowing what members of the PDS, its honorary chairman primarily, understand by the term "democratic socialism."

[Modrow] You put the question to your interviewee specifically, and it requires an answer. We also are in the phase of debate as to what we understand by the term "democratic socialism." It is a question of a society which begins a new stage of social development, not which represents improved capitalism. Social democratic positions, more left, it is true, but not, for all that, anticapitalist, are being erroneously ascribed to us today, however.

We proceed from the fact that democratic socialism is a social system in which there have to be humanitarian values and in which there are various forms of property. Public property is assigned the predominant role here. There is a place for private ownership of the means of production, of small- and medium-sized businesses, for example, also. The existence of private ownership is also allowed in agriculture besides the cooperative form. We believe that democratic socialism is a society in which the free development of the personality, observance of the laws and democracy are guaranteed. It is a question of a society which secures its wealth not at the expense of countries of the Third World. We proceed also from the fact that democratic socialism is an alternative to capitalist society and an opportunity even for the survival of mankind generally.

[Lukyanov] In what political actions does the PDS intend to engage to contribute to the ongoing process of unification of the two German states?

[Modrow] Mention needs to be made first of the situation following unification of the two German states, more precisely, following the Anschluss of the GDR. The situation is (and this needs to be said plainly) that there has as yet been merely a formal merger of the two states into one. The borders and their external attributes—the wire entanglements and the concrete walls—have disappeared. But the differences in ideological positions have not been removed but, on the contrary, are intensifying even further, and relationships between people are becoming aggravated.

If we imagine the situation which could have taken shape by the end of the year, we should be expecting more than 1 million unemployed. Some 1.6 million persons are currently working part-time. For the majority of them this is the same as having no work at all. One further social problem is approaching the inhabitants of the new states. There will be a five- to six-fold increase in rents as of 1 October. Social problems are currently painfully affecting the broadest strata of the populace.

[Lukyanov] More than a year has elapsed since the time of the conclusion of the currency union of the two German states. The former inhabitants of the GDR have felt for themselves what a market economy means, and for the majority of them the consequences of this experience in the main spheres of people's life have, as you have said, been negative. What is the reason for this situation?

[Modrow] First it needs to be said as plainly as can be that the miscalculations and mistakes which were made in the process of unification and about which Chancellor H. Kohl himself is now speaking continue to exert an influence. The main one was the fact that the FRG believed, proceeding from the notions concerning the market economy which are current there, that capital would in itself resolve the existing and emergent problems. As time has shown, this has not been the case. The principles of the market economy which are effective in the FRG have not worked. For the same reason the government forgot about the elaboration of effective concepts of regional development and their financing, which was essential for supporting the functioning of the economy and its gradual transformation. This step has had negative consequences for the eastern trading partners, primarily the Soviet Union, also. The possibilities of exports of products to the Soviet Union have declined with the collapse of the economic system in the new federal states.

And it is now simply essential to take account for the future of the fact that the granting of the Soviet Union and other East European countries credit in hard currency is still not a way out of the situation, is still not all. It is essential to establish with one another new economic relationships which carry within them a readiness to encourage enterprises to develop so that they might ultimately compete on the Western market. How otherwise can credit be recouped and how otherwise will bilateral trade exchange continue? But this aspect was overlooked in the course of creation of the currency union. Everything was farmed out to market mechanisms both in the FRG and in the GDR.

[Lukyanov] The PDS is forced today to work under difficult conditions, experiencing strong pressure on the part of parties of the right. It is under their influence that the Trusteeship Office of the FRG has of late made a number of attacks on the PDS. Several decisions followed immediately after the party congress, and they concern primarily the financial aspect and questions of property. But no party can operate successfully without money and property. What do you think in this connection?

[Modrow] We believe that it was no accident that the actions of the Trusteeship Office followed after stage two of the Second PDS Congress: On the eve thereof, the media had prepared public opinion for the idea that the party would split or fall apart. But this did not happen. The elimination of the PDS politically was not achieved. Other attempts, primarily in the material and financial sphere of the party's activity, are now being made. The Trusteeship Office adopted the decision to take over the entire real estate of the PDS. It has also decided that we do not have the right to pay our bills ourselves and that this may be done only via the Trusteeship Office. So it has been that in past weeks a chain of people, each of whom has had a separate PDS account to present for payment to the Trusteeship Office, has formed every Monday on the Alexanderplatz in Berlin.

And remember the decision to the effect that we may count merely on the monetary resources obtained as party dues received since the fall of 1989! All this shows that state laws of the FRG are being actively used against the party. But we will continue the struggle for the party's preservation of its material and financial assets.

[Lukyanov] The CPSU is today working on a new party program. New party rules will be adopted also. I know that new PDS rules have been adopted. What does this document represent?

[Modrow] First, we have recorded in the preamble to the rules the basic propositions which characterize democratic socialism. We have done so inasmuch as we have as yet no confirmed party program. Second, we have recorded in the rules the party's pluralist nature. We have recorded that, besides the activity of the primary organizations, other groups and currents and also the possibility of the formation of platforms are allowed within the party. There is in our party a Communist Platform, and it operates very actively, and we have an association of Christians, and they also are working actively in the party. This means that believers and atheists are working together in the PDS. I would like to emphasize that it is believers who are stating that they do not regard themselves as enemies of the ideas of Marx. It is not the Bible which analyzes social relations on earth, they say, for this it is necessary to know the ideas of Marx.

We have recorded in the rules the new structure of the directive bodies. The future party board will consist of 18 persons and will not be of the nature of a Central Committee. There are 70 persons on our board currently. Provision is made for decentralization of the party and the development of internal democracy also. State structures will be of great importance. A federal nature will thereby be imparted to the party. The role of the primary party organization has been redefined. The party's pluralist nature provides for the existence in the party of groups according to the social position of its members; groups of workers, groups of intellectuals, for example. We believe that the interests of individual social strata will be represented more extensively this way. We are trying to attract the youth to the party. A person who has reached the age of 16 may become a member, according to the new party rules.

[Lukyanov] The Hamburg Konkret-Literaturverlag publishers recently put out your book "Breakthrough and Finale." It deals with the 150 days of the activity of the government of national responsibility, the head of which from the fall of 1989 through the spring of 1990 was Hans Modrow. What would you yourself care to say about this book?

[Modrow] In the 41st year of the GDR's existence the country had two governments—Modrow's and de Maiziere's. And I attempt in my book to show that the government for whose activity I was responsible may be seen as transitional. It was in this period that there grew from the events of the fall of 1989 in the GDR the changes which made it possible to effect the transition to the state of society in which on 18 March 1990 free, equal and secret democratic elections could be held.

Second, I consider very material the fact that no acts of violence were perpetrated in the GDR during this transitional period. The process was such that it did not entail human casualties and bloodshed. I believe that this was to the credit of my government.

Third, the transformation of the government, when, on 5 February 1990, the grand coalition government which had been formed by five parties on 18 November 1989 was replaced by a government of national responsibility made up of representatives of 13 different parties and movements, ensued in precisely this period. This was a historic event, from which a lesson needs to be learned.

It was at that time that close cooperation was achieved between representatives of the government and the roundtable in the elaboration of the new GDR Constitution. And I consider the most important and significant result of the roundtable's activity and the development of all the democratic processes which occurred from the fall of 1989 through the spring of 1990 the draft new constitution. It was a kind of testament bequeathed the FRG because the basic law of this country which is in effect today is, as its preamble emphasizes, of a provisional nature. Following the unification of the two German states, according to Articles 23 and 146, the task of the creation of a new constitution arises.

De Maiziere's government, on the other hand, may be described as the government of the hand over of the GDR to the FRG, and the entire period of its activity, as the Anschluss phase.

Currently, much is being said, and often, about the activity of the Modrow and de Maiziere governments. And I believe that it is now that it is essential to reinterpret history and show the times and the people who participated in this process. I do not claim to have written the history of my time but I have described events as they happened.

UK Team Assesses Motorized Rifle Regiment

LD2108054591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

On 14 August, in accordance with the clauses of the Vienna document of 1990 on measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe, the Government of Great Britain submitted a request to the Soviet Union on making an assessment of information on the military forces and deployment plans of the main systems of armaments and equipment in the 310th motorized rifle regiment of the Transcarpathian military district. The request of Great Britain to make an assessment was satisfied. Today representatives of Great Britain arrived on the territory of the Transcarpathian military district and made an assessment of the information made available to them.

Supreme Soviet

Lukyanov Suspended From Chairing Sessions

LD2208211191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Levashov, [participant of the session of the Presidium], has revealed that Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has been suspended from chairing the parliamentary sessions. Ivan Laptev has been instructed to chair the session of the Presidium.

Said To Have Falsified Document

PM2208164891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By Yuriy Orlik: "A. Lukyanov's Forgery. Attempt at a Journalistic Investigation Hot on the Heels of Events"]

[Text] This document was transmitted by TASS in a package with four others signed by the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, which was secretly formed at night. G. Yanayev's decree removing M. Gorbachev from power and conferring upon himself the duties of USSR president, the statement of the "emergency troika" calling itself the Soviet leadership (it was signed by G. Yanayev, V. Pavlov, and O. Baklanov), the appeal of the State Committee for the State of Emergency to the Soviet people, the "address to heads of state and government and the UN secretary general, and, finally, the statement of USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov [no closing quotation marks as published]. All the documents were dated 18 August.

A. Lukyanov's statement, let us recall, dealt with the impossibility of signing the Union Treaty within the appointed time. The USSR Supreme Soviet chairman demands an additional discussion of it at the USSR Supreme Soviet session and then also at the Congress of the country's People's Deputies. In the statement A. Lukyanov did not express any attitude toward the putschists' seizure of power. It was as though he had not noticed the coup d'etat which had taken place.

At approximately 1600 on 19 August N. Yefimov, then chief editor of IZVESTIYA who had returned urgently from vacation, made just one correction to the text of A. Lukyanov's statement, which stood in the issue together with the documents of the State Committee for the State of Emergency—instead of 18 August, a different date appeared at the bottom of it: 16 August. At 1807 this correction was carried over TASS channels.

I do not believe there is any need to explain in detail why this was done. Since the statement had been written before the putsch, naturally it could not have contained any words censuring the anticonstitutional act that had been staged. Almost an alibi for the author.

But I have before me a photocopy of the statement written and signed by A. Lukyanov in his own hand. It was issued to the military journalists who came to the 19 August news conference at the Main Military-Political Directorate. The statement is dated 18 August.

I was finally convinced that A. Lukyanov resorted to a forgery when I checked the first paragraph of the original statement against the text transmitted for the press.

"In connection with numerous requests from working people asking me to express my attitude to the draft of the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States that was published, I consider it necessary to point out the following..."

This was transmitted by TASS. But the original states:

"In connection with numerous requests from working people asking me to express my attitude to the draft of the Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States that was published **three days ago**, I consider it necessary to point out the following..."

Look through the file for any central paper for 15 August—the draft Treaty was published that day. Add three days to that, and you get the actual date when the statement was written—18 August.

No, the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman did not stand apart from the putschists. He was right with them. Bound together with them, like the TASS documents that were transmitted.

A. Lukyanov was playing for big stakes not only during the putsch. Before that. Long before. The Supreme Soviet head's ability to get the necessary decisions through parliament, from his conductor's podium, was amazing. It happened before our very eyes. He was a past master at behind-the-scenes diplomacy. A man who was waiting for his hour to come. He was waiting then too. How else can one explain his decision not to convene the USSR Supreme Soviet session until 26 August. The seventh day after the coup. The legally elected president of the country, to whom Lukyanov owed his career, who was a friend of his youth, was incarcerated for three days. But he remained silent, pondering, calculating.

I do not know how A. Lukyanov will explain his actions when the investigation of all the circumstances of the events and the establishment of the degree of responsibility and extent of the blame of everyone involved in the putsch is carried out by the law, which the "country's top legislator" cynically flouted. I do not know how he will explain the change of date on the statement. Indeed, as these lines are being written, the editorial office knows by no means everything.

But whatever A. Lukyanov might say to save himself, I will not believe him.

We will not believe him.

Agenda for Extraordinary Session Detailed

LD2208175791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1716 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug. (TASS)—The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has continued in the Kremlin today under the leadership of the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ivan Laptev and Rafik Nashanov.

After a many-sided and principled exchange of views on issues connected with the attempted state coup undertaken by a certain group of people, it was recognized as essential to include in the agenda of the forthcoming extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the following issues:

1. A report by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev on the situation that has arisen in the country in connection with the attempted state coup.

2. The calling of an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

3. Evaluating the role of the USSR Supreme Soviet leadership and the USSR state bodies in the events of the 18 August 1991 and the following days.

4. A list of immediate measures and legislative acts which would exclude the possibility of a repetition of events similar to those which took place from 18 to 21 August 1991.

5. Changes in the composition of the USSR Government and other state bodies.

Having examined the statement by the USSR procurator general, the Presidium gave its agreement to instituting criminal proceedings against USSR people's deputies Oleg Baklanov, Valeriy Boldin, Valentin Varennikov, Vasiliy Starodubtsev, and Oleg Shenin, and also to their arrest for participation in the coup with the aim of seizing power.

At the proposal of a group of USSR people's deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium instructed the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to take it in turns to chair the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Holds News Conference 22 Aug

LD2208215791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1537 GMT 22 Aug 91

[News conference by President M.S. Gorbachev with domestic and foreign journalists moderated by press aide Vitaliy Ignatenko in the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Gorbachev—to man in audience] How did you get to be among the press?

[Ignatenko] It is Koryakin, the old journalist.

[Gorbachev] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen. Over the more than six years that I have been in the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and then chairman of the Supreme Soviet and president of the country, I have had many meetings with you and with other representatives of the press. There have been some news conferences that I will remember all my life. One of these was the news conference after the meeting at Reykjavik. Today's news conference is taking place after events that most of all I wish should never be repeated and that there never again should be such a news conference on this topic.

We have come through, perhaps—I so much want to be accurate—have we come through them or not? We have come through the most difficult ordeals during all the years of the reforming of our society since 1985. We have run up against what is without any kind of exaggeration a real, unconstitutional coup organized by reactionary forces that found themselves in the very leadership, the center of the leadership, alongside the president, people that I put forward—I believed in them, I trusted them, and they turned out not just to be participants but also the organizers of this plot against the president, against the constitutional order, against perestroyka, against the people and against democracy.

On 18 August, at 1650, the chief of the guard informed me that a group of people had arrived who were demanding a meeting with me. I said that I was not expecting anyone, had not invited anyone, and that no one has told me to expect them. At whose invitation were they here? The chief of the guard said that he also knew nothing. Why then did you admit them? Because Plekhanov, the chief of the directorate for personal security of the department of State Security, had arrived with them. In any other case, the guard would not have let them in to see the president. Those are the laws, they are strict laws, but they are necessary.

I decided to establish who had sent them here and since I have all kinds of communications lines, both governmental and ordinary ones strategic and to do with space, and so on, I lift up one of the telephones by which I was at the time sitting in my study working, I lift it up and the telephone does not work. I lift up the second, the third and the fourth and fifth. No. I lift up the internal phone. All of it has been cut off, that is it, I am isolated.

Then I understood that this legation would be for me not the kind of legation with which we normally have dealings. In this case I went somewhere else and called, summoned my family, the adults in it, my wife, my daughter, my son-in-law, and told them that such an event had happened. I do not need any other information, I see that this is something very serious. Evidently now they will either blackmail, or there will be an attempt to make an arrest or take something away. In general anything might happen.

I said to Raisa Maksimovna, Irina, and to Anatoliy that if it is going to be a question of the main thing—the policy, the course—then I will stick to my position to the end. I will not yield to any blackmail, any threats, any pressure, and change and adopt any other solutions. The whole family, I thought I had to tell them—you understand why—that anything could follow this and, first and foremost, for the members of the family. We also know this. The whole family said that this should be my own decision. They were ready to share everything that would happen to the end. With that our council ended.

I went to invite them up. They had themselves come up to my office—the familiarity was unprecedented—headed by Boldin, the head of the president's apparatus. The president was given an ultimatum. To hand over his powers to the vice president. I said, before I begin to answer questions I want to ask you who sent you? The committee. What committee? Well, the committee in connection with the state of emergency in the country. Who set it up? I did not set it up. The Supreme Soviet did not set it up. Who set it up? The matter is that people have already joined together and a decree by the president is necessary: Either you issue the decree and remain here, or hand over your powers to the vice president. In connection with what is this issue put forward? The situation in the country is such, the country is rolling toward disaster, measures have to be taken, a state of emergency is necessary, other measures will not help any more. One cannot go on deluding oneself, and so on.

My reply was that I know the situation in the country better than all of them, the political, economic, and social situation, and the position of people and the life of people and all the burdens that they carry now. And that we have reached the stage where everything has to be done both more quickly and more decisively, and first and foremost, what is needed to improve life.

But I am a resolute opponent, not only from political and moral considerations, because these methods of solution that arose in the history of our country had always led to people dying in the hundreds, thousands, and millions. We have to leave this behind and renounce it for ever. Otherwise it is not us, and everything that we have started we should put to rest once and for all, betray it, and again come to terms with us having to enter a new bloody cycle. That was why I said: Both you and those who sent you are adventurers. You are going to destroy yourselves, but you can go to hell, you did it yourselves, it is your business to act the way you want, but you are going to destroy the country and everything we are doing. That is why now, when we have approached the eve of the treaty, and after that we were preparing, working for a whole month, preparing major decisions on food issues, on fuel issues, on the solution of financial problems to stabilize more quickly both the political and economic situation, and to move market issues, processes more quickly, to give the people more opportunities to unfold in every walk of life—and that was after there were signs of agreement. Indeed we do not have enough of it, it is insufficient, we have not gotten rid of suspicion from either side, in relations between the republics and the center, in relations between political and social movements, all that is there, but that is the only way to seek agreement, it has appeared and we began to move. Only suicide cases could propose to introduce a totalitarian regime in the country now.

So I heard the demand: Resign. I said: You will never see either one or the other from me. And pass onto all those who sent you here that there can be no further discussions between us. You can say that the president is ready to sign immediately any telegram, and we have a reason, on the 20th we are signing—and that was late on Sunday and I, by the way, was completing the preparation of my speech to be delivered at the solemn act, at 1600 I was still talking to Shakhnazarov, and with me was aide Chernyayev, although he was not present during the conversation—there we would meet many of the leaders, and on the 21st the Federation Council was planned, we would discuss all these questions, we would have to reach agreement on things we failed to agree at government level.

Those are the central issues. You have to try and resolve them there, and not by the path that you want. Well, you will declare a state of emergency tomorrow, but what then? What then? Give me a forecast for one day, for two or three days, for four steps. What then? The country will reject all these measures, it will not support them. You want to play upon the difficulties, upon the fact that the people are tired, upon the fact that they are ready to support any dictator already if only... [changes thought] Incidentally, precisely during these days I was working with Comrade Chernyayev on a very long article—it came out at 32 pages—and one of the scenarios there was this. And its authors appeared here. And this article...eh? [in response to indistinct remark] Oh, I'm sorry, the characters, yes, for this scenario. And my argument on this scenario was that this meant ruin for the society, this was a blind alley, it would cast society aside and bury everything we now possess. I am ready to convene a congress of people's deputies, I am ready for a Supreme Soviet. If there are doubts among parts of the leadership, then let us gather, let us discuss it. The deputies are all in their places, they know what is taking place there. Let us adopt an extraordinary decision, an extaordinary one. Other measures...I will defend this path—the path of agreement, the path of deepening reforms and cooperation with the West. These are the three main directions and now we must synchronize them and cooperate, especially since there is a reciprocal desire on the part of the people to cooperate with us at this present decisive stage.

But, you know, this was a conversation with the deaf and dumb. It was evident that they were already prepared, the whole machinery had been set in motion. It was now clear: We could not talk any more: Report that I state categorically that you will suffer a defeat and you will inflict...but I am afraid for the people and for what we have achieved over these years.

That is how it ended. To their ultimatum they got my categorical demand, my categorical reply and a demand to report back my conclusions. After that everything started to develop in accordance with confrontational logic. Full isolation from sea and from land. There were 32 guards left with me, who decided to stand to the end, so to speak. They allocated among themselves all areas of protection, including the family, they moved in there, allocated all the places and decided to stand to the end.

When it became known that it had been stated at the news conference that I was seriously ill and that I was in general incapacitated and it was very unlikely—I understood—that I would return to normal life, then it became clear to me that it followed from that that the factual aspect would be synchronized with that statement. Therefore, it was decided—and we understood the same thing from the guards—not to order any food and to live on what we had to hand. I was sure, I was convinced, I was absolutely cool, although I was shaken to the core and indignant at this political blindness and the irresponsibility of these criminals—that it won't be like that for long and it won't work for them. All in all that's how it was— 72 hours of total isolation and struggle. I think everything was being done to break the president down psychologically. It was hard, what more can I say, but that was how it went on.

Every day, in the morning and in the evening I put forward demands, and the demands consisted of restoring the president's communications, that a plane should arrive at once and I should leave for Moscow, for my place of work. After the news conference I added the demand that a denial be published about this false report, the statement about the state of my health by these healthy men whose hands shake [laughter, applause] in front of you. You asked them good questions and taunted them some. It was a farce.

[Ignatenko] Admittedly there was a ban here on being emotional.

[Gorbachev] Hm.

[Unidentified man] Did you have television?

[Ignatenko] No.

[Gorbachev] I was under—everything was switched off. But they found some old receivers in the staff premises and rigged up antennas—they were boys who had their wits about them—and started picking up whatever stations might be around. They got the BBC best. [laughter, applause] The BBC sounded best. Liberty—Radio Liberty, then Voice of America appeared. At least that is what they reported to me, and I quote that report. I want to thank both the Soviet and the foreign journalists—I have just now appeared on television for the Soviet people, I said that too, that these people [starts to say "agreed" but stops mid-word] took a stand of civil responsibility and refused to collaborate. Even what was done was done forcibly. I am aware of this. I have already been told a great deal about what happened.

I want to say here in front of you that you and I have all truly seen that it is not in vain that over these six years we in this land have with such difficulty and in such difficult and often painful quests been seeking ways to move ahead. Society—and we are now able to say this—rejected the putschists. They found themselves isolated. They did not manage to direct the Army. The Army entered into contacts with people and then no one could do anything. It became clear to them that they had failed.

The republics took a negative stand, and here I must pay tribute and put in first place the principled position of our Russian parliament, the Russian deputies, the Russian government, and the outstanding role of the president of Russia, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. [applause]

I must say that at the present time it is appropriate that we pay tribute to the principled stance of the Muscovites, Leningraders, and many other regions. The attempt to create the appearance that the country directly almost supported and expected it and so on and that something had been found—everything might be found at present. But in principle, the country rejected it, this bloody path, and gave its support. I think that it would be difficult to get by any means a bigger argument, a bigger or better plebiscite testifying to the true standpoint of the people.

From all the conversations that I have had over the past few days—and I have already had conversations with many people, with President Bush, President Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl, Prime Minister Major...

[Ignatenko, interruptimg] Mulroney.

[Gorbachev] Mulroney, Hawke, who telephoned from Australia today...

[Ignatenko, interrupting] Kaifu.

[Gorbachev] Kaifu, Andreotti, and President Mubarak—in general, everyone except al-Qadhdhafi, Saddam Husayn, and Rubiks [Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary]. [laughter]

I realize that processes in the Baltic area and in other republics are not easy, but not to see that the way to resolve them lies in quite another plane is also political blindness.

That is why I speak of Rubiks, when he was in such a hurry to declare that they should tell me he supported me. In general, when it became clear, when Russia took such an implacable stand, its leadership, of the republic, the people, and the Army did not join in, in a panic, they started to look for a way out. They announced to me that a group of the conspirators had arrived in the Crimea, on the presidential plane, to have a talk with the president and to bring him back to Moscow. When they came I said: Place them under house arrest; put them under guard, and convey my demand: I am not going to talk to any of them until all government communications are working properly. They told me that that would take a long time. That is all right, I said, I now have nowhere to rush to. [laughter]

The communications were set up and I began to talk to the country. First of all I talked to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I telephoned Nazarbayev, Kravchuk, Dementey, and Karimov. [inaudible question, to which Gorbachev responds "Ah?"] We are all people. I was told they were standing there. I told them that I was standing there, with my garrison. [laughter]

Well, but that is how it was: 72 hours without—in all, under such terrible tension, suddenly the opinion formed in the guard that they might come for us from the sea. But as it became clear, on the contrary, the seamen gave the president a signal that they could rescue him. The Navy took no part in those actions. And not just the Navy. Those whom you brought out, they did not take part anyway.

Then I began work, and I gave instructions to Moiseyev to take over the leadership of the Defense Ministry, they recalled him, he had just arrived from the Crimea, he had flown back, he had been summoned there; to return all the troops to their barracks, immediately to the places where they were stationed, and announce that Yazov would now—was being removed and would be arrested. All that was done. I found the commandant of the Kremlin and asked him whom the regiment was subordinate to: to the Committee for State Security. I had him send for the commander of the regiment. They sent for him. I give him instructions by phone not to take orders from anyone but myself and the commandant of the Kremlin. He said he would do as I asked. In general I first telephoned to all the most important points, to cover everything at once, because all this was still dangerous and they could have destroyed us en route or anywhere.

I decided not to leave until...I was then informed that a plane was on the way with a delegation of the Russian Federation. I said that I would first receive them. I got in contact with Minister Panyukov, with Moiseyev so that the delegation could land on a military aerodrome where I land, not in Simferopol, otherwise it would take them up to three hours to reach me. I gave instructions that they are met, supplied with transport and brought here. Well, generally speaking, work had begun.

The delegation arrived. We all sat down and found considerable understanding. I think that what we have undergone has enriched us not only with experience but also with the understanding of what it means when democratic forces are united and what it means when they are divided. And how we can sometimes clash our foreheads over a certain issue and announce that we are in relation to each other almost enemies. And we began to think how we would return. Then I had to give many more instructions.

Then Ivashko and Lukyanov arrived separately. They had difficulties getting transport. I received Ivashko and Lukyanov.

I did not receive the conspirators, did not receive them, did not see them, and I do not wish to see them. We distributed them among the planes, flew them here, and all were arrested on leaving the planes and put into confinement. I gave orders to the commandant that none of those who collaborated in this should be allowed into the Kremlin, and so on. So work of this sort got under way.

I have planned a meeting of the leaders of the nine republics that have worked out the treaty and prepared it for signing. We are to meet tomorrow and will discuss everything.

This has been a hard lesson and a most hard one for me personally. This has been a hard drama for me.

I think that tomorrow we will start discussing, thinking over, and working out a position on the main issues of going forward and undertaking new steps.

We must see in this not only the disaster that befell us, but also see the immense opportunity these events have shown. This lies in the fact that it has shown us the true position of our people. In my conversations with foreign leaders, the leaders of foreign states, they all paid attention to that very point: That it showed the position of the people and the position of the Army, that changes have already occurred in the Soviet Union that make it impossible to move backwards. Therefore, they hope that we will exploit all these opportunities, and they all declared that they will cooperate and that they believe that this cooperation must assume more active and more decisive forms. I received today the ambassadors of the 12 EC countries. They declared their solidarity and support.

What decisions have been adopted? I have issued a decree repealing—incidentally, I have my own copy.

[Ignatenko] You have the original.

[Gorbachev] Yes. You know, it looked as though they might destroy me or whatever, I don't know, they might do anything to me, my family, and all those who were with me and pretend that the president had taken this particular stand, and moreover, that they were acting on his behalf. Therefore, when I saw at the news conference all that insidiousness, albeit of a primitive, coarse variety—as one of the comrades from the Russian delegation said to me, they can't even do that properly, and there are a lot of other things that they can't do either—I decided immediately to record myself on a video camera. I made four recordings, the boys and Anatoliy cut them, they cut them into four, and we began to look for channels, to find whom we could trust to dispatch them. Here is a tape, one of them. The others might turn up, because they have gone, all the same. The doctor wrote his opinion, in several copies, and we handed them over, circulated them, so that the genuine state of the president's health might be known.

In the end I put forward the first four points in writing, a version in which this was stated. And I added by hand, so that it could be seen that I had written it, though the four points were typewritten, and signed it. The first point: declaration. First point: Yanayev's taking over my duties as president on the pretext of my illness and my inability to carry out my duties is a deception of the people and so cannot be described otherwise than as a coup d'etat. Second: This means that all subsequent actions are illegal and illegitimate. Neither the president nor the Congress of People's Deputies had given Yanayev any such powers. Third: I ask that Lukyanov be informed of my demand for the urgent convening of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies to examine the situation, since they and they only, having examined the situation, have the right to decide the question of necessary state measures and the machinery for implementing them. Fourth: I demand that the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency be stopped immediately until the above-mentioned decisions are made by the Supreme Soviet or the Congress of People's Deputies. The continuation of these actions and the further escalation of the measures being taken by the emergency committee could mean tragedy for all peoples and exacerbate the situation still further, or completely wreck the coordinated work of the center and the republics that has begun for overcoming the crisis. Yes, on the 20th. And, as I said, in the afternoon and evening I repeated my demands and demanded an answer. I was told, wait and you will get an answer. At first there were no answers at all, then they said, you will get an answer. But there was nothing. In general, I hand it over—Ignatenko, let them look at this tape, let them show it. If it does not come out somewhere first.

So that was the situation. The main thing now is that decisions have got to be taken. I have taken - rescinded all the decisions both of the vice president and of the committee and of the cabinet, which have taken place in these days. I have removed them and released them from their posts, using my power, and what needs to be examined by the Supreme Soviet I have submitted to it. The USSR procurator's office—the USSR procurator has reported to me that he has initiated criminal proceedings yesterday, and we agreed that the investigating team should comprise investigators from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and USSR. Provisional decisions have been made where it was not possible simply to discard such services for a single day against particular individuals.

Tomorrow when we meet with the leaders of the republics we will start considering the correlation of forces, among other things, and mainly, so that power may be effective and coordinated actions may increase. We must not lose. The program is there, and we must get things moving and solve the problems. That is the most important thing. Well, for my speech that is enough. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified journalist] Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] Ah, I saw you. You asked a good question. [Journalist] Thank you. First and foremost, I would like to say that I am very glad to see you here, alive and well. But I would like to ask you one question—and not out of curiosity, Mikhail Sergeyevich, but because I think that this question is important for all countries—for all citizens of your country. Everything is now history. But I would like to know your views on what and who obliged you in October last year, at the Congress of People's Deputies in December, to choose such people. What were the considerations and reasons? Why? Because this is of interest to me and to everybody else. Clearly, the situation was already grave even then. I do not wish to preempt your reply, but I do wish to get to the bottom of everything that happened. If you can explain this, I think it will be extremely important for everybody. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I think that there are stages in the development of perestroyka. We must never forget in what kind of society we are pursuing reform—reform, moreover, of such scale, of such depth and scope. If we forget this, we are not worth anything. We are not worth anything. And this—the peculiarities of our country, and the things that have taken place here over decades, and indeed, centuries—dictate not just the pace and depth of transformations, but also the methods and forms of solutions, objectives, and choices. I will tell you bluntly that in the first stages, until we molded public opinion and created a democratic atmosphere in the country, such a turn of events could have been crowned with success.

All these years my task has been to implement, to preserve, and to save that policy. Admittedly though, I will never tell you, I will never tell you everything to do with my job as president, as it were. After all that is my prerogative. In the final stages the question underwent a radical change. First, after the 19th party conference deep democratic processes were under way, and a different atmosphere emerged. That was followed by the elections, not to mention glasnost, of course, and the press for all its tendentiousness and bias—something that is and was at hand even in recent days. Admittedly this too.... [changes thought] Incidentally, is there anybody here from the RSFSR with whom I spoke on the phone when they asked me in no uncertain terms—that was one of the conversations I had when I got back the government telephone line—a group of journalists from the RSFSR Union of Journalists got in touch with me. It was led by Yugin I think. [sound of unidentified voices] Yes. Yugin. I said then to them that yes, we all must use our eyes and look around very carefully. There is a lesson here for everyone. Because there were instances of people exploiting certain occasions, acute situations and the unceremoniousness displayed sometimes by newspapers: Who is about to take over? They are frightening the people: It is a creeping dictatorship from one side, and from the other side, another dictatorship and so on! And all this was used in order later to.... [changes thought] I think that these documents did show this up at once.

Therefore the special feature of the current stage is that the situation has changed. A powerful democratic movement and powerful public opinion that has already matured are now in existence, and new values have already emerged, the values that have been shaped by perestroyka. People have acquired courage. They formed their position. That is one aspect. The other aspect is that we have approached a decisive stage of changes. Power is changing, the ownership relations are changing. The federation is changing. And here is the treaty to be signed. After all, the events had been orchestrated right before the treaty was due to be signed. And then what skirmishes followed! For some it meant the preservation of the empire, for others its disintegration. You have read about all this yourselves. I must say that all this has provided help to those who wanted to destroy the whole process. Therefore, both politicians and journalists—and everyone now is a politician—this must be understood. There is a lesson for everyone to learn here: to defend by all means possible, without slander but by means of arguments, persuasion, passion, and criticism, etc.

So when the process had already reached the point at which the treaty was to be signed and there was the anticrisis program with all its measures to reform ownership relations—there they were—it meant the whole system was changing. A few more months and all of this would have acquired new forms in life—this can be seen in many respects at present. Therefore everyone was in a hurry. Both the supporters and the opponents. So I always submitted this whole spectrum of moods and positions to very careful analysis. The press helped a great deal too. I was able to allow myself to push aside everything that was unacceptable, that lacked culture, and was high-handed—I call this opportunism—in both politics and journalism, and to see what was taking place in society, nevertheless. I must say that these options did not just arise—they were put forward in public. And at the Congress of People's Deputies they were saying "Down with the President in December," and "Set up a Salvation Committee." There was nothing new. I saw it as my task to preserve this course of restructuring, and for the first time in this country's history, to strive to resolve everything without bloodshed, on a basis of consensus. I am convinced of this and I will stand upon this to the end, until they support me in my work.

[Ignatenko] Comrade Kiselev, Russian TV. Press the button, press the button. Go ahead, go ahead, and speak. Please, comrades.

[Kiselev] Mikhail Sergeyevich. Excuse me for the involuntary hitch. Tell me, what is your attitude, specifically, to the decrees of Russian President Yeltsin and the decisions adopted at the session, at the extraordinary session of the Russian Supreme Soviet, during these three days of crisis?

[Gorbachev] I must say that I reached home between 0500 and 0600 this morning and tried to lie down. What became of that? At 0700 there was a knock on the bedroom door and I was handed a parcel containing all the decisions the Russians had adopted during these days—after all, I had not seen them. There was a parcel. I read them. I consider that in the circumstances, the Russians acted from the highest of interests, and what they adopted was dictated by this situation. There had to be a force that had to resist on all these fronts of the struggle against reaction.

[Ignatenko] Go ahead, NEWSWEEK. All right, Yuriy, go ahead. Yuriy Koryakin. Go on.

[Koryakin] Once I would have been afraid of these questions I am going to ask you now, even to think of them to myself, but what we have now experienced has made me—and evidently you, too—afraid of nothing any more. I have a simple question. I have proof in relation to my friends—say, Adamovich, myself, and others—that these eight men, at the moment they were elected and even before that, were obvious blackguards. It was written all over their faces. I have proof of it. Therefore, the question is this: Why were you blinded to that?

[Gorbachev] I have just said on Soviet television that this was a lesson for me, and in particular I see that the Congress was right when it did not elect the vice president the first time around, but I insisted and got my way. This was my mistake and not my only mistake as I now see.

I will tell you also frankly—because in general, in this sense, I have no bounds to my frank talking—I trusted Yazov and Kryuchkov particularly.

[Ignatenko] Go ahead, NEWSWEEK. Speak a bit more loudly, please.

[Journalist in English, with superimposed Russian translation] A question in English. NEWSWEEK magazine. Mikhail Sergeyevich, what lessons have you learned from this improbable event? How have you changed, as a person? I do not mean just that you now know better who your friends are, but how might your behavior change in the immediate future?

[Gorbachev] To be resolute in pressing ahead with the reforms; for that we need a regrouping of forces. This must be taken in hand immediately. Without that we will not have coordinated actions and we will not get the reforms moving. This must be tackled without delay.

[Terekhov] Terekhov of INTERFAX. Mikhail Sergeyevich, one of the main questions, just look, these three days have shown a cross-section through society, through people and politicians in the party. The party has the right not to recognize its leader. The leadership has the right to reject its leader. But at a critical moment it has no right to move aside and keep silent for three days. That is not a party. Don't you think that it is time to pay serious attention to our Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a political tool and a political organism that is not in keeping with the present day? My second question—excuse me...

[Ignatenko] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I consider that you are raising one of the most important questions by virtue of the realities, the real position of this political force. This is the reality that we have to see, to know, and understand, and if we subject all realities to change and take all of them into account in implementing the course—and this is all the more so in the case of a reality like the CPSU. I see my duty—I will do it to the end, as long as I have the strength—as being to hold in check, to hamper in every possible way, more than that, to get rid of reactionary forces and drive them out of the CPSU. On the basis of this new program we have put forward, I consider that there is the possibility of uniting all that is progressive, all that is the best thinking. When you talk about the party as a whole as being the reactionary force of the party—with that I do not agree because I know thousands of people, hundreds of people, and moreover they are sitting here—there are people who are real democrats devoted to perestroyka, devoted to this struggle, and they will neither surrender nor bend.

The new program of the CPSU should single this out for us. I, for example, will never agree that the program that has been worked out should be transformed into something that would suit those who harbor nostalgia for the old times. We must therefore do everything to insure that the party is reformed and becomes a living force of perestroyka.

As far as the position of the communists is concerned, the communists, including this, then with the exception of some committees in many cases—especially rank and file communists—in many cases they dissociated themselves. What took place in the leadership and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, which forced Ivashko to come out after an operation on his thyroid gland—he had an operation—if only to put a stop to it because the party was beginning to rush about—not the party but the leadership, it was; well in the end a correct decision was made in the Secretariat, too, under the influence of healthy forces. As a result of this, two people—I have not sorted this out completely yet, it is simply all very difficult for me—but yesterday Ivashko told me that two people had announced their departure from the Politburo because they disagreed with the fact that the Politburo, or the Secretariat, had not supported the demand to support the measures of the extraordinary committee. They told me that these were Shenin and Prokofyev.

[Ignatenko] Hmm-hmm, one moment.

[Gorbachev] But on the other hand there were people there who fought to voice a demand for an immediate meeting. This was the standpoint of Ivashko and Dzasokhov, and especially Kuptsov and others, who were demanding this, and eventually this demand was expressed, and they got through to the general secretary in the Crimea.

[Ignatenko] ADN, please. ADN.

[Journalist] The American UPI agency. Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gorbachev] Where are you?

[Ignatenko] Over there, over there.

[Gorbachev] Aha.

[Journalist] Do you believe that at this moment Boris Nikolayevich has more genuine, real authority than you have?

[Gorbachev] I would not put the question in this way. Over the past few months and over these days as well, Boris Nikolayevich and I have been doing everything possible so that our agreement and cooperation should become a constant factor in uniting all democratic forces together with all the republics. So let us think about this. This is the main thing. There are a lot of people who would like to once again try and disrupt things and by any means possible to cause clashes or sow enmity. So many lies of all kinds are cast about regarding these characters, that it is probably difficult, but we have already been hardened. We know what this sort of situation is. As one person said, we know who is who. [laughter]

[Ignatenko] Go ahead, please.

[Natalya Severin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the journal RODINA of Russia's Supreme Soviet, Natalya Severin. There have been reports in the West that observation satellites did not notice any special movement of troops in the vicinity of Moscow. What is your attitude to these ineffectual satellites?

[Gorbachev] Which satellites?

[Natalya Severin] Observation satellites did not notice particular troop movements in the Moscow rayon. What is your attitude toward these ineffectual satellites? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I can say that whether the American satellites are better than ours or a little worse, they are practically the same and they can see a car license plate. Therefore, I do not know why they did not notice anything or what happened here. Everything that moved, there was everything...

[Unidentified voice] It has been raining all the time.

[Gorbachev] Pardon?

[Unidentified voice] It has been raining all the time.

[Gorbachev] Ah, well that is a different matter. [Gorbachev laughs] We need different satellites.

[Ignatenko] Viktor Lyubovtsev, please.

[Lyubovtsev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what do you think motivated this group of plotters? Excessive personal ambitions, craving for more power than what they had—unrestricted power—or, perhaps, deep, political, anti-perestroyka motives, or both? And let me also—since there were many political questions—ask you a purely personal one: How did Raisa Maksimovna and members of your family together with you survive these most difficult days?

[Gorbachev] Anastasiya, the granddaughter, got by best of all. She did not understand anything and was playing around and demanding to be taken to the sea. We had to take her there. But in the last days the guard demanded that this should not happen, because anything could have happened there. Therefore we, so to speak, entrenched ourselves and sealed ourselves off. Raisa Maksimovna and my daughter took all this very badly. Raisa Maksimovna felt unwell yesterday. But, it seems, this was an episode. But yesterday we thought that we.... [changes thought] So here we are. It was hard. I think this is clear to everybody. I do not think this is necessary. Anyone who found himself in a similar situation can imagine....

As for what motivated these people. You know, on the whole, I do not think that there is anything wrong with these people mentally or in their thinking, I do not think so. So, then, this is a deliberate choice and so, then, this is a well-thought-out position. So, then, this is the part of society which either does not want change at all or is afraid of it.

These are their leaders, of this part of society. So, then, these are the realities of our transition period when we going from one system—you see, we have a crisis of the system and not something local and we are coming out from it and coming across these phenomena, including this one. I have already told you that in the article, while considering possible developments of the scenario and the development of the situation, we had come to this one. And when they came, I had this article on my desk and I was working on it. For the first time I felt that my mind was working properly! [laughter]

[Ignatenko] Comrade Polzikov. You have worked very well during these days.

[Polzikov] Hello. Mikhail Sergeyevich. It appears to me that thoughts about the future of democracy cannot be abandoned yet. Nothing has come to an end yet and everything could come around in a circle. In this connection—about monopolization, about monopolies as such. Tell me, do you think that the question has already been resolved of some special position for the president's protection service in the structure of the Committee for State Security? Will it not become independent and be subject to...well, that is, following the example, perhaps, along the American model? And about television—about state television, about republican television companies, because it is impossible for all television companies to be free while they are somehow committed. I would like to speak about the press as a whole. What are your thoughts? These three days have been an enormous schooling. Second, will you be meeting Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev? What system of communication will there be?

[Gorbachev] As far as the protection service is concerned, this question has arisen long since in connection with the fact that I did not regard it as such an important issue to occupy myself with at that time. My attitude to this is somehow a calm one, in general. Perhaps it is too calm. This question has now come to the surface because it turned out that the head of the protection directorate of the Committee for State Security became a guide for these conspirators against the president. Therefore everything needs to be considered, since the time is such and requires it, and there is experience of this in the world. But I do not believe that this is the main thing now, it is, in the end.

The second question was about the role of the mass information media and of television. In general I can see no other path than to preserve the gains of democracy in this direction.

e would not have been what actually manifested itself in our people over these days, when they put a barrier on the way of a dictatorship. If it were not for such energetic activities, among other things, of the democratic press, our press. I would like to suggest, however, that you also think about the lessons of these events. We cannot just.... [changes thought] What we need is culture, political culture. Only then a political dialogue in the framework of this course becomes possible. Now that our press has so much oxygen at its disposal you can sometimes see it gasping for breath because of this excess, and then something happens that I, for one, cannot accept.

For example, I cannot tolerate high-handedness and tactlessness. I am the kind of person who has always been in favor of not gossiping about other people—I have been like that since my early years and I still am. I think I mentioned this at the congress once, but I can never tolerate boorishness. There is a great deal of boorishness in the press, toward people, particularly, if they have different opinions. What pluralism can we then talk about? Culture and responsibility will do no harm, to the political movements, political campaigning and relations in general, as well as to our press. Just think about it, think and make a decision yourselves. Think. You see that I...I am convinced that well-argued material makes a greater impact. I, for instance, I can see our famous writer and playright Gelman sitting there. He was among the first who, in his short essays, published by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, reacted—and, generally speaking, he is one of the participants in the preparation for perestroyka, with his plays, notable for their civic position, even then, in those times. This is the logic, I tell you, when the craftsmanship of a man of letters merges with a political mind, a very logical one. I value such ideas even when I cannot agree with them. But this is how it must be, you know.

By the way, I also told those conspirators when they arrived, I said, all right, this is your point of view, this is your appraisal of the situation—and, mind you, there are no differences in our appraisal of the situation—but you think that this is how it should be resolved, by a state of emergency and such measures. I am of a different opinion, but then let us come out into the open, to the congress or the Supreme Soviet, and discuss it there. So let us act in this way. But to humiliate.... [changes thought] Just see what is being written. I stopped writing [as heard] many newspapers because I know in advance what they, in what an insulting way they write, when analyzing my opinions. This is not analysis. This is political prattle. It is not deep. Its purpose is to offend: look what we are like! and this sort of thing. I stopped reading many things.

While if it is serious—a most serious analysis and a tough and impartial judgement, but well-argued—so when there is analysis, even if I may not agree with the arguments, or if the arguments are wrong and do not apply, but you can see that the person wants to understand and to express his understanding.

That I respect. I respect it.

[Ignatenko, whispering to Gorbachev] About Yakovlev—Yakovlev. Aleksandr Nikolayevich was heard today.

[Gorbachev] Ah! About Yakovlev. I think that what I already learned from the press while I was on vacation—that the Central Commission has made such decision with regard to Yakovlev—means that indeed a serious struggle in the party for its renewal is still ahead. If it was said at the plenum two weeks or a month ago that the commission, having analyzed this position, does not see grounds for adopting any decisions and then everything changes radically—and moreover, as it turned out, no conversation with him took place, I did not know anything, we could have also talked—this means that the party does not lead a normal life. But I should say that Aleksandr Nikolayevich has been hasty. He was telling me that he will continue to fight to reform the party till the end. Later, however, he began to say: Gorbachev believes that the party could be reformed, and I no longer believe this. Well, I am sorry. I am sorry that the forces that should be making their contribution to reform the party are leaving. I see my role in this. I do not intend to give up the positions I have taken, I will stick to them. But I will not make any concessions here over the fundamental issues, and they have come out in the draft of the new program. I will fight to the end for the renewal of this party.

For me there are no obstacles to meeting and talking with anyone, especially those with whom I have eaten a lot of salt, so to speak: if not a pood, then a pood and a half.

[Ignatenko] I do not seem to see the BBC correspondent here in the hall. [laughter]

[Unidentified voice] She is over there.

[Ignatenko] Yes? Go ahead, we will give you the... [words indistinct]

[Ignatenko] Where? I don't seem to see her.

[Gorbachev] BBC—all is clear.

[Ignatenko] Yes, very well. Go ahead. Go ahead.

[Journalist, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have known Anatoliy Lukyanov for a long time, for many years. You have been in the same boat as him for many years. The Russian parliament is now calling him one of the ideologists of this coup, an accomplice in the coup. How do you judge him today?

[Gorbachev] I have talked to him. He told me about the positions he adopted, the actions and steps he took in this situation. I took note of all these declarations. But, I think we must all speak plainly to each other about who did what in this situation. We must dot the i's, because things cannot go on this way. We cannot let such a situation, as has arisen now, occur again within the leadership of our country. It could plunge society into a catastrophe, pure and simple. Therefore, when I speak now about a regrouping of forces, what is needed is the promotion of forces that are totally committed to following the course of transformations and will fight for this course. I think that everybody's position will be discussed at the Supreme Soviet and the congress. If my own position is to be discussed, then why should not Lukyanov's position also be discussed and examined? The valuable and constructive elements in it should be evaluated. If there are unacceptable elements, then they should also be discussed. But I think that we must also hear the views of Comrade Lukyanov himself. At any rate what he has told me—up to now, during these last few hours, I have been preoccupied with bringing the situation under control as quickly as possible. Although we were supposed to meet at the Supreme Soviet Presidium today, I was unable to make it. But I am going back to the Kremlin now. Maybe we shall meet there.

[Ignatenko] Mexican TV.

[Journalist in Spanish, with superimposed Russian translation] Mr. President, I go back to the CPSU again. Is it possible that something excellent could happen? Could it happen that these conservative forces who do not want to change the party might stay on in the party, while the forces advocating a new ideological line, all the people who wish to change the party, together with you, might leave it? Could it happen that President Mikhail

Gorbachev might leave the CPSU, together with those forces advocating a new line?

[Gorbachev] I think I have just said that I am one of those people who has never concealed their stands. I am a convinced adherent of the socialist idea. In my view, this is not something anomalous, you know. This idea has been carving its way in the course of many centuries. It has a lot of supporters. Its supporters have become the heads of the governments in many states. There are various strands of the socialist movement. For the socialist movement is not some sort of a model, a shoemaker's last, on which one needs, as they do with footwear—and they do it very well in Italy—to make society. No, this is an idea, it is actually an idea, which has its own values that have been worked out in the course of people's search for a fairer society and better world. This is an idea that is nourished by a lot of very important achievements of Christianity and other political movements.

I am arguing as a democrat. First and foremost, the socialist idea cannot exist without democracy, without the more correct and reliable tackling of social issues. When we want to discuss this topic, we immediately refer to things that the implementation of Stalin's model of the organization of society led to. But listen, how does it relate to the socialist idea? Banners and slogans, yes. And often they ask a question whether, on the whole, the October Revolution was a catastrophe or was it a genuine revolution all the same, and I understand why. Because the historical results failed to justify the hopes of those people who had carried out this revolution. These are not the results of the implementation of the ideas of October and of that genuinely people's revolution.

These were the results of the forcible introduction of the Stalinist model of social organization. So these things must not and should not be confused with one another. Therefore, I stand on these positions deliberately and by conviction. These positions and these ideas of socialization can be found in other trends, too. Why is this so? I often hear that Gorbachev allegedly still swears by his socialist choice. I do not swear by it. But I am nevertheless a person of principle, and I am not someone who turns where the wind blows, like a weather vane.

Moreover, in all these years I have gathered courage to say a great deal with a view to doing away with Stalinism and to let it be known that if we do not part with Stalinism, there is no point even in thinking of implementing the socialist idea. But moreover I want to put it bluntly that in the context of our life and our society, we must move away from that religious worship of our classics, having beforehand borrowed from them dialectical and historicist methods, etc., the way of thinking, and their analyses of reality—these we need as these are our science and our lessons.

However, we must also understand our own experience and the experience of the peoples living around us and exercise a creative approach. The main thing is encapsulated in that one sentence pronounced once by Lenin, perhaps in passing, that socialism is the living creativity of the masses. That means denial of any model. It is up to people themselves to create life in any country.

We must build upon it, having unfolded the processes of democratization in all spheres of political and economic life and in the sphere of the perestroyka of our federation. By building up all these positive democratic processes, we must move forward, and I think all this is movement toward greater justice among men and peoples and the affirmation of the right to freedom. This is the movement toward the implementation of this socialist idea. That is my understanding; here it is in plain terms without constructing any complex theories but just in a plain human language.

[Unidentified voice] Question from the BBC.

[Journalist, in English with superimposed Russian translation] During the time you were in your house in the Crimea, you were under great psychological pressure. Could you explain the pressure you were under? Did you fear for your life? Although practically all the members of the Committee are now under arrest, are you concerned about the number of those in the ranks of the reactionary forces who are still free?

[Gorbachev] Well, I think I will start with the end of your question. I do not think that after this we should organize a witch-hunt and act the way we acted at other times. No. We should resolve everything within the framework of our democracy, glasnost, movement towards a rule-of-law society, on the basis of the law.

Therefore, in connection with this, when they told me that after the meeting the columns were moving toward the Central Committee on Old Square and in the other direction, to the KGB building not only to demonstrate and say something, but to go as far as that, then I phoned Mayor Popov and said that it would be a scandal if those forces which.... [indistinct comment from unidentified voice]

[Ignatenko] Yuriy Fedorovich.

[Gorbachev] Yuriy Fedorovich.

[Koryakin] I have been answering for that policy for three years, and [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] No, that is so...

[Koryakin] [Words indistinct] But I do not plan to argue any further with you.

[Gorbachev] I know, even more so since your old friend and my brother now, Anatoliy Sergeyevich Chernyayev, my aide, was with me. Yes, so you interrupt, Comrade Koryakin. [laughter] And therefore, I must pronounce your name as the disrupter of the press conference, so...no, this is serious. It worried all of us. Both Boris Nikolayevich, and Popov with his letter that he sent

Luzhkov to announce because it would be a big gift if someone were to break away, and you know, I do not think that it was those forces that were at the meeting, and that could already arise under cover of this, so to speak. We had to avoid that, so that having inflicted a defeat upon reaction, we should not ourselves go along that path. Everything must be done and demonstrated. That is legality, and that is the law. Everything needs to be done in accordance with the law and seen through to the end. So I think that in principle, I have no disagreements with you. You are in favor of the law. Or is neo-bolshevism already appearing in your midst? [laughter]

[Koryakin] [words indistinct]

[Ignatenko] Please, please.

[Gorbachev] No, no, just a minute. And the first part of the question. What influence was I under and what was I counting upon? The situation was critical. I think that those who embarked upon this adventure were adventurists, and when they began to see that that adventure was doomed, then these people were capable of anything, so generally speaking, I was prepared for anything. Therefore, I considered it my duty to tell my family. I think that therefore, I had to be very attentive, and keep my nerve, not give in.

Well, and ahead of us is not just a lot of work, but a lot of very difficult work, and above all we must do the work that will improve people's lives. That is the main thing now. But without effective power, that will not happen.

[Unidentified journalist, speaking Russian with difficulty] Mikhail Sergeyevich, Shevardnadze is an old friend of yours, and with you, an initiator of perestroyka. Yet in these days he has at least twice said that perhaps you are also a little bit to blame for this coup, or he also said he hopes you are perhaps not—a little bit responsible for this coup. How do you assess those hard words? How do you assess that political position of Shevardnadze? Thank you.... [pauses] I know the words are not so exact, but President Gorbachev has already read Shevardnadze's exact words, and it is important to me...

[Gorbachev] I have not read it. I appeared in the morning and...

[Journalist, attempting to express his question in English] I'll say it in English. I...I...I—I speak in English. Shevardnadze once has told that he hopes that you are not—that you are—that he hopes that you are a victim and not maybe an instigator. [speaking in Russian again] How do you assess...

[Gorbachev] I will not try to read Shevardnadze's coffee grounds, I will leave it to his conscience. [Ignatenko] That was not right. I am sorry, it does not sound right in English, either. So let us end with the magazine STERN. Go ahead, please.

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Ignatenko] Especially as...

[Journalist, persisting in English] (?I) did not say that.

[Ignatenko] The girl, we cannot see her.

[Journalist from STERN] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you said you had particular trust in Mr. Yazov and Kryuchkov. Can you explain to us why you trusted them in particular

[Gorbachev, hesitating frequently] You know, I had encountered Yazov, studied and observed his position. He is a very balanced person and many hotheads have broken their attempts of all kinds, well, somehow to venture upon acute forms, against his balanced position when the Army found itself under criticism or found itself drawn into various events. I have to say that for me, even now, this is—this will show later, I know nothing so far, I have not spoken with him. I... I did not even believe that Yazov was one of them. I thought that they had simply put his name down, in order to create a semblance, so to speak. But perhaps that is an indication that I must ponder all this very seriously. I do not think that I am in no way responsible, since after all, it was my choice: I recommended them.

As for Kryuchkov, he is a man who joined the security organs really more from political activities. I was even impressed in that sense that he was less of a professional than the others. We know that professionals are good in one case, but in another case they are people who give one the creeps. They do exist here, they exist, it does happen. It seemed to me that his political horizons and the fact that he'd been associated with external intelligence—this created a certain conviction in me that he was someone with certain reserves of learning and culture, of dialogue. I do not know him to be implicated; I have no information that he was implicated in any dark deeds or any... [changes thought] That would have made me hesitate. But perhaps I do not know. You will say that does not relieve me of responsibility, that I should know. But sitting here before you now is a man who is living through this drama. I cannot say anything other than what I have already said: For me it is a very distressing ordeal.

[Ignatenko] Esteemed comrades, President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has been under extreme strain now for over 100 hours. I think that you realize this. We must say a big thank-you to this person for coming here on the very first day to speak to us. Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich. [applause]

Addresses Nation; Lauds Resisters

LD2208202391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Address to the nation by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev; place and date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens: I speak to you now, and I am fully justified in saying the coup d'etat has failed. The conspirators miscalculated; they underestimated the main issue: The people, during these admittedly very difficult years, have become different. They have breathed the air of freedom, and nobody can take it from them again. The state criminals, who moved against democracy and attempted to restore the totalitarian regime, caused the people's indignation to explode. They tried to do the most horrible thing: to direct the Army against people. Nothing came of this, in any case. Many commanders, officers, the majority of soldiers, and whole units and formations refused to carry out orders. They remained loyal to their oath and stood side by side with the courageous defenders of democracy. When four of the conspirators came to me in the Crimea on 18 August and presented their ultimatum to me—either renounce my post or voluntarily relinquish my powers to them or sign a state of emergency decree—I told them: You are adventurists and criminals; you will destroy yourselves and inflict dreadful harm on the people. You will never succeed in anything. People are different now and will not submit to your dictatorship, nor accept the loss of everything that was won during these years. Come to your senses; this state of affairs will result in civil war with great bloodshed, and you will be held responsible. I rejected all their claims. They then ordered the troops surround the house where I was staying on vacation. Moreover, both from the sea and from land, they applied psychological pressure, followed my every step, and isolated me totally from the outside world. Probably, their aim was to break the president psychologically. I understood this clearly when I learned about the news conference of this so-called state committee for the state of emergency. They anounced that I was not capable of carrying out presidential functions. Moreover, they promised to present a medical certificate supporting this statement soon. Thus, their task was based on the premise that if facts do not correspond with their statement—in other words, the president's health is different—then, the president should be brought to such a point where he will indeed break down both physically and psychologically. For 72 hours, I did not know what was happening in the country.

The plot has been smashed. The adventurers have been arrested and will be severely punished. Blood was spilled, however, and victims fell, the defenders of freedom. I offer my deepest condolences to their families, relatives, to those close to them, and to their friends and colleagues. Their names should be inscribed on commemorative plaques placed where they lost their lives.

I want to thank all those who, risking not only their position and personal freedom but also their lives, stood in the first line of defense for constitutional order, defenders of the law and of human rights. Above all, I must note the outstanding role of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president of Russia, who stood at the center of resistance to the conspiracy and dictatorship; Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Russian government; Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, vice president of Russia; many political and public figures; the whole of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation; and Muscovites and Leningraders who also came to the defense of democracy.

I must not fail to mention the selfless devotion of the great majority of correspondent from all parts of the media to their democratic and professional duty. At this difficult time, they unerringly chose where and with whom they should stand. They were not frightened, they did not show cowardice, they did not cringe before the usurpers.

The principled position of the presidents and parliaments of most republics, oblasts in Russia, and local soviets was of great significance in foiling the plot. They were able to rise steadfastly in the defense of legality and their sovereign rights. I express my gratitude to the peoples and governments of foreign countries that, during these critical days, came out in support of democracy in the Soviet Union and of the country's lawful leadership.

It is an understatement to say that the events of the last few days are an important lesson for all of us, a grave and terrible lesson. All the necessary conclusions must be drawn in many areas—in the development of the state and in relations between the republics, among parties and public movements, in interethnic relations, and of course, in economic policy and the intellectual and moral area.

On what were the plotters relying: on the fact that the people are tired of waiting for their lives to improve, that the crisis is continuing, that the slump in production has not been halted, that there is a grave situation in the market, that our financial situation is connfused, and that crime is increasing? People do not want to tolerate this and they are right. The plotters, however, did not take into account the fact that people want all these questions to be resolved in a lawful manner, within a democratic framework, and not at the expense of liberty and human rights, not by means of dictatorship and violence.

We need to advance more cohesively and quickly along the road of radical reform. Tomorrow, I will meet with the leaders of nine republics. We will discuss everything, evaluate everything, and consider urgent measures and the immediate prospects and ways of acting and cooperating in a coordinated manner. We will tell the country and world about our meeting.

In addition to punishing the ringleaders, justice demands that an evaluation also be made of the actions of those public officials who could have resisted the coup but did not, who adopted a wait-and-see position, or who were even prepared to go, hat in hand, to the criminal committee for the state of emergency. Of course, these people should not be persecuted if their actions were not unlawful, but the public must know how to evaluate how people presented themselves at this crucial moment, and what their true intentions were.

I would consider it a proper course of action for those persons who did not have the courage to defend the law to retire now from their state positions.

I have already spoken with the leaders of the republics on future plans of action. In the near future, a new date will be set for the signing of a treaty, followed by the adoption of a new union constitution and a new electoral law, and presidential and union parliament elections. This work must be carried out within an established timeframe without delay, as delay in a period of transition is, as we can see, dangerous for democratic transformations. Proper conclusions should be drawn from the fact that the state security sustem also turned out to be insufficiently reliable. These issues require the most painstaking study, and we must work on them in the very near future.

As president, I feel deeply about everything that has taken place, and I feel responsible to all of you because I did not do everything to prevent this from happening. What we have all experienced during these last days has been a hard lesson, for me first and foremost. It is a lesson about our approach to the nomination of leading cadres. For example, It is now evident that the Congress of People's Deputies was right when it refused to elect the vice president in the first ballot. But the president exploited his power to insist on having his own way, and he was mistaken. In truth, this was not the only mistake.

The most important task now is to get the country out of shock. It would be unjustified to believe that all danger is past. In this regard, what we need most of all is for all political forces that follow the principles of democracy to take a responsible position. All of us who crushed that conspiracy and threw up a barrier before those criminal schemes, must not follow to any extent the methods used by the conspirators. We must be guided strictly by the Constitution and by law and act in a coordinated and responsible manner.

The events of recent days have shown us that society has already reached a new stage of development, that there will be no going back—in spite of the desires of reactionary forces—and that we have chosen, in principle, the correct direction for the country's progress. We have all lived through difficult days, so let us move ahead more boldly and more resolutely, having learned a lesson of this bitter experience.

Thank you all, dear comrades, all those who came to the defense of democracy. I, as president, received from you the greatest support during these days. Thank you.

Remarks to Journalists in Crimea

PM2208162891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[By SOYUZ observer Aleksandra Lugovskaya "Specially for IZVESTIYA": "Journey to the Crimea To Fetch President Gorbachev"]

[Excerpts] It is only yesterday, and a whole age ago. The emergency session of the Russian parliament has begun. The "White House" is surrounded by tanks, as before. Thousands of Muscovites outside and the deputies inside are ready for the military to storm the building. The threat persists. All B. Yeltsin's attempts to contact President Gorbachev are unsuccessful: The reply from the Crimea is—"He can't come to the phone." Deputies' speeches alternate with military-style reports from the presidium. Lukyanov has promised to withdraw the troops from Moscow. V. Kryuchkov will arrive at the session by 1300 hours, and suddenly—no, he won't be coming: The whole crew of putschists are leaving Moscow by air. Where are they going? Fine if they are going abroad, but they could be going anywhere in the country. And then... At Vnukovo-2 there are two planes ready to leave. One of them takes off at 1400 hours. They have decided to go to the Crimea, to Gorbachev. What is to be done? We have yet to recognize the importance of this moment, but even today we can be proud of our glorious Russian parliament. An instant choice—fly there too, on the second plane.

Parliament decides not to risk President Yeltsin, although he is ready to go. Prime Minister I. Silayev and Vice President A. Rutskoy head the delegation. In all there are 10 democratic deputies, two doctors and academicians, and a few journalists. [passage omitted]

The plane is packed—a small delegation, and the rest are the Russian OMON [special purpose militia detachment]. Ye. Primakov and V. Bakatin have come, but A. Yakovlev did not make it. Here too, with us, is M. Pesik [name as transliterated], an envoy from the French Embassy in the USSR. At the last minute, Kazakhstan's permanent representative V. Temirbayev, N. Nazarbayev's personal envoy, came rushing up. We left Vnukovo at around 1700 hours. The unknown lay both ahead and behind. But there was only one scenario according to Silayev: Meet with the president and, if he agrees, bring him to Moscow.

The front compartment is turned into a headquarters, and there the unlikely and energetic Rutskoy rehearses a plan for the operation, up to and including the "seizure" of President Gorbachev. I. Silayev and V. Bakatin are equally strong on strategy and tactics. But they only occasionally let us journalists in: It is secret. I sit in the tail, next to the permanent representative of Kazakhstan, and ask him: "Why was Nazarbayev so slow to react to the coup?" V. Temirbayev explains it in terms of the time difference and the total unexpectedness of the putsch, but then adds that the Kazakh president issued a statement on 20 August which was not reported on Central Television, nor in the press.

And then, after nearly two hours in the air, the sea appears beneath the wings, and anxiety with it. We land at the military airfield of Belbek, which is ominously empty. There are only two Volgas with their headlights on and two "Uazik" jeeps with military men at the wheel. Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist

Republic] Supreme Soviet Chairman Bagrov meets us, and asks Silayev if he wants to telephone. Silayev replies abruptly: "No, we won't. We'll go straight there." And he orders the military men to find room for everyone.

A warm southern night, frantic speed, and we are at our destination.

The splendid summer residence of the USSR president. Silence. Only militia posts around, but behind the mighty fences is an equally mighty guard—Gorbachev's personal bodyguard. They let the official delegation in; we, the press and doctors, are at first asked to wait, and then invited to come in—into the movie hall. They watch us mercilessly, literally every step. There is no cordiality. We are not even offered tea. After a storm of questions and meager replies, we learn that Lukaynov, Ivashko, Yazov, Kryuchkov are here.

After half an hour or a little more, we march into the main building almost in formation. To the right is the sea, and the lights of ships. They say that yesterday there were 12-15 warships, now it is not known. The entrance to the ornate building, a small vestibule, and a little reception room.

Our delegation is sitting at a table, they are all discussing something among themselves, but you can tell that the basic agreement has already been reached. I. Silayev confirms that the talks with M. Gorbachev have been highly successful. Mikhail Sergeyevich himself is standing in the center, talking with someone. He looks well, flushed, but tired. His eyes are calm. Moved, I ask the first question: "Are you under arrest here?" "Not now." And Mikhail Sergeyevich begins a short improvized press conference. "I welcome you, and I am glad to see you."

[Gorbachev] Tomorrow, or at least the next day, I will brief the Soviet and world public on what happened. I regard these events as nothing less than an adventurist act, a coup d'etat. This should be investigated by the appropriate organs and taken to its logical conclusion. And we will give instructions to that effect.

[Unidentified correspondent] But you were under arrest?

[Gorbachev] Yes. I was cut off from the country and the world. We held the front here for nearly four days—my family and bodyguard, who remained loyal to me to the end.

[Unidentified correspondent] Were there attempts to put pressure on you?

[Gorbachev] There was nothing. Only I was completely deprived of communications, cut off, blockaded by ships at sea and troops on land. In fact, it was complete and absolute isolation. But even in these conditions I acted and conveyed my demands to the outside world through those who managed to contact me. My bodyguards were instructed to open fire immediately on anyone who tried to get in here, and so to defend me, my family, and the people who are devoted to me.

[Unidentified correspondent] How could it happen?

[Gorbachev] Those are questions for a press conference tomorrow, and for investigation by the relevant competent bodies.

[Unidentified correspondent] Your state of health—was that only a pretext?

[Gorbachev] Yes, it is absolute rubbish—a gross fabrication.

[Unidentified correspondent] What did they demand of you?

[Gorbachev] Please be patient.

[Unidentified correspondent] And why did they come today?

[Gorbachev] Please, be patient. I can say one thing, I did not make any deals with them. And I stated firmly: I will not take part in any adventures. Furthermore I demand the urgent convocation of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or the Supreme Soviet. They alone can decide all these questions. If I had acted in any other way, I would either have had to do away with myself, or...

[Unidentified correspondent] Is this the end of the coup?

[Gorbachev] I think the adventure has finally collapsed. Common difficulties have made all the republics seek consensus, and that consensus is strengthening. That is why the adventure did not succeed. We have not worked in vain for these six years. Our society has changed, and incidentally, so has the army for the most part: It did not and will not go against the people.

[Unidentified correspondent] Where is Yanayev now?

[Gorbachev] Yanayev? In Moscow. I think after my return to Moscow we will start to act. I will return soon. And since you have found your way here, I invite you all to a press conference in Moscow. [Gorbachev ends]

It was incredibly difficult to find out how the president lived during those days. The information that we have pieced together bit by bit is meager and perhaps not entirely accurate. On Sunday 18 August, the communications went completely "dead," the newspapers stopped coming, and the television was cut off. That same day, apparently, envoys from the CPSU Central Committee came. The next day, the foursome from the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] came to visit. The captive president did not yield, but I was told that there was a moment when, sitting with his family on the terrace, he suddenly covered his face with his hands, got up, and rushed out.

But with us journalists he was absolutely calm.

I—my colleagues and I from AFP—did not see any more of him on that night of 21-22 August. Sichka from the "former" or underground KOMSOMOLSKAYA

PRAVDA were unlucky, and so we spent a good hour sitting under the headlights of a "Zhiguli" in a little square by the hillside, transcribing the dictaphone tape, which at that moment was priceless. Lots of militia and people in civilian clothes were totally unable to get us to the airfield, where Silayev's plane, guarded by the Russian OMON, stood ready to take off for Moscow. Later we saw black cars passing us one after the other at great speed. They were taking Gorbachev away!

But soon they remembered us too. In the night vastness of the military airfield, Silayev's plane stood, "battened down" and revving its engines. I only saw a face at the window... V. Kryuchkov's face. The USSR president's plane, its lights blazing, found itself without its master—M. Gorbachev preferred not to risk it, and flew to Moscow with his family in the same plane, under the protection of the Russian OMON. We reached the capital by morning, and learned all the news from the television. Now everyone knows.

No, there are not many journalists who have been fated to take part in the liberation of the president of their own country. It would be better if it was another country. But all the same, God forbid. We have lived through a terrible but brief tragedy. Its brevity is to the glory of the Muscovites, those who died and those who survived, in saving the bulwark and hope of the people of Russia—the Russian parliament. To the glory of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, who managed to control a terrible situation and, together with the deputies, was victorious. The putsch also collapsed thanks to the firmness of President Gorbachev—a pack of conspirators could not break him. Congratulations on your return, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we were waiting for you.

Gorbachev Decree Abrogates 'Unconstitutional Acts'

LD2208155591 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—President of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev today issued a decree "on the abrogation of unconstitutional acts of organisers of the state coup". The decree says:

On the night of August 19 a group of plotters seized power with the intention to stage a coup d'etat. This crime has been prevented due to decisive actions of the Russian leadership, principled stand of other republics, actions of Muscovites, Lenigraders and population of other regions in defence of democracy and constitutional order. The plotters have been unable to set the Army against the people.

The so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency (SCSE) issued a number of acts aimed at establishing a dictatorial regime and taking the country away from the road of democratic transformations.

Measures are taken to eliminate all the consequences of the plot and punish the guilty.

I decree:

1. To abrogate all the decisions made by the SCSE or its individuals members,

2. To remove all members of the SCSE from their posts,

3. To note that the USSR prosecutor-general instituted legal proceedings against the persons who participated in the plot and that the investigation is conducted jointly by competent bodies of the USSR and the Russian Federation.

Firings, Hirings in Coup Attempt Aftermath

Kryuchkov Dismissed

LD2208162191 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Thursday issued a decree relieving Vladimir Kryuchkov of his duties as the chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee.

The dismissal will have to be approved by the Soviet parliament on August 26.

KGB Guard Chief Dismissed

LD2208161291 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Thursday issued a decree relieving Yuriy Plekhanov of his duties as Soviet State Security Committee guard chief.

The decree also stripped Plekhanov of his military rank of lieutenant-general.

Pavlov 'Relieved of Duties'

LD2208160991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1552 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—Valentin Pavlov has been relieved of the duties of USSR prime minister in connection with the institution of a criminal case against him by the USSR prosecutor's office for taking part in an anticonstitutional conspiracy.

This decision has been submitted for examination at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Tizyakov Removed From Industrial Post

OW2208225091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Association of State-Owned Industrial, Construction, Transport and Communications Enterprises of the USSR has today removed A. Tizyakov from his post as the association's president for taking part in the coup d'etat.

Earlier on, the Scientific and Industrial Union of the USSR removed Tizyakov from his post as vice president and expelled him from its board "for his complicity in anticonstitutional activities, namely in the forming of the so-called State Emergency Committee and the introduction of a regime which led to deaths".

Shebarshin New Acting KGB Chief

LD2208155691 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Thursday appointed Lieutenant-General Leonid Shebarshin as acting chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee.

Shebarshin, 56, has been working as the chief of the Soviet intelligence service and Kryuchkov's deputy since March 1989.

Truslin New Acting Interior Minister

LD2208155491 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today appointed 57-year-old Vasiliy Trushin acting minister of the internal affairs of the USSR.

Colonel-General Vasiliy Trushin, member of the Communist Party since 1961, graduated from the Moscow Mining Institute. Since 1957 he worked as engineer-designer, then worked in the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

In 1979-1984 Trushin was head of the main department of Moscow militia. In 1984-85 he was secretary of the Moscow City Communist Party Committee. In 1985-89 he became first deputy minister of the interior of the USSR, in 1989-90 minister of the interior of the Russian Federation. Since September 1990 Trushin was deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR. He is head of Interpol's Soviet National Central Bureau.

Revenko New Kremlin Chief of Staff

LD2208155391 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today appointed Grigoriy Revenko head of the Soviet president's apparatus, replacing Valeriy Boldin.

Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh Resigns

LD2308120791 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh has resigned, which has just been confirmed in a telephone conversation with an employee of the minister's personal secretariat.

Accused of Supporting SCSE

PM2308004391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 3

[Feature comprising article by D. Sabov entitled "Why Did Bessmertnykh Stay Silent?" followed by "open letter to the USSR foreign minister" from Russian Deputy Foreign Minister A.V. Fedorov]

[Text] According to unofficial information that we obtained from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning, USSR Foreign Minister A. Bessmertnykh's conduct during the three days of the anticonstitutional coup differed substantially from the version that he himself sought to uphold at the press conference on 21 August.

We were informed that as early as the morning of 19 August, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich had a meeting in the Kremlin with G. Yanayev, self-proclaimed acting president of the USSR, during which he was informed of the State Committee for the State of Emergency's intentions and also received for distribution through Foreign Ministry channels the text of the address by the conspirators to the heads of foreign states and the United Nations. On his return to the Foreign Ministry, the minister personally issued an order to distribute this document, after which he disappeared from the ministry.

We have learned from the same source that most of the Soviet Union's ambassaadors immediately began reporting the extremely adverse reaction of the governments and public of their countries of residence to the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. A particular stance was adopted by Comrade Gventsadze (USSR ambassador to Ireland), who maintained in a REUTER interview that Gorbachev's removal was constitutional in character. Comrade Zamyatin (ambassador to Britain) went further and tried to persuade the British prime minister that the USSR president was indeed seriously ill.

An ambiguous position was adopted by by Comrade Deputy Minister Belonogov who, during Soviet-Norwegian consultations, maintained that the fact that the coup had taken place had its own logic.

This activity by certain top leaders of the USSR Foreign Ministry has naturally dealt a blow to the international standing of the country and disoriented Foreign Ministry staffers. It is clear that after official confirmation of this information, it will not be possible to avoid the following question: Can people who possess authority either within the country or abroad lay claim to the leadership of the state's foreign policy activity? [Sabov ends]

The State Committee for the State of Emergency and the USSR Foreign Ministry—Open Letter to the USSR Foreign Minister

Esteemed Mr Minister:

It was with great interest that I learened from your press conference that the "diplomatic service is governed in its work solely by the instructions of the constitutional organs of the Soviet Union and acts in accordance with its official duty in conducting Union foreign policy."

But allow me to return to the events of recent days that, from my standpoint, showed that this is not so.

1. It was precisely on the instruction conveyed by your department that the ambassadors of the USSR on 19 August very promptly transmitted the message of the State Committee for the State of Emergency to the leaders of foreign countries and began work to ensure its recognition. Only a few of them later stated their disagreement.

2. In very many USSR Embassies, it was the career diplomats of the "Soviet school" who started removing portraits of USSR President Gorbachev and calling party meetings in support of the "principled course to extricate the country from crisis."

3. It was none other than your first deputy, Y.A. Kvitsinskiy, who issued an order to stop the dispatch on B.N. Yeltsin's instruction of a special telegram signed by me at 1000 hours, 20 August, to all USSR embassies and consulates abroad with an explanation of the Russian leadership's position and a condemnation of the coup d'etat.

4. In practice, not a single one of the embassies under your jurisdiction that received on their telex machines (which they had forgotten to switch off) the texts of the decrees of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president and information about events in the country conveyed such to the leaders of the countries of their residence.

5. During the three days of the events, not one of your deputies or chiefs of administrations telephoned the RSFSR Foreign Ministry, enquired about Russia's position, or spoke of a readiness to help. (And you are perfectly well aware of the difficult conditions in which we have been working to date).

6. No one from the USSR Foreign Ministry leadership was able to find the necessary civic courage to address Soviet and foreign journalists, while, on the other hand, the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center was obligingly made available to the so-called State Committee for the State Emergency to hold its well-known press conference. Also only a few of your staffers found the courage to appear by the "White House" walls.

Therefore, these facts allow me say that the position of the USSR Foreign Ministry was in many respects the position of a political prostitute who is only interested in who will pay more.

And to say in this situation that your department is loyal to the legally elected authorities is simply cynical. If so-called "Union foreign policy" continues to be pursued in such a way, it will scarcely be possible to talk about any respect for our country.

The cause of this situation resides primarily in the fact that thus far your department has placed the interests of the CPSU above those of the people and the country, and the pocket has replaced conscience.

Some people may say that my words are harsh and out of place today when everything is behind us. But as someone who was on his feet throughout those days, seeking to ensure, together with all his fellow staffers in the RSFSR Foreign Ministry, correct information about what was happening in the country, I consider I have the full moral right to such a letter.

I suggest that you hand over to the investigation agencies all the documents that indicate that the State Committee for the State of Emergency obtained de facto in the shape of the USSR Foreign Ministry a good ally.

Respectfully,

A.V. Fedorov, Russian deputy foreign minister

Prokofyev, Shenin Quit Polituro in Protest

PM2308075991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Incidentally"]

[Text] Prokofyev and Shenin have left the CPSU Central Committee Politburo in protest to the Politburo's insufficiently active support for the actions taken by the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Katushev Accused of Supporting Coup

LD2308044491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] During the past three days there were many people who were happy to support the coup with great satisfaction, as the statement by the Veterans' Council put it.

But here is another interesting document—it concerns the position of the Union's Council of Ministers. Allegedly, the ministers were just waiting for the president to return. But Konstantin Katushev, the minister of foreign economic relations, for example, and the ministry's entire collegium gave instantaneous backing to the coup. We were given this document today by ministry staff who are outraged by the behavior of this institution's leadership. [video shows protocol on a meeting of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations collegium dated 19 August; certain words are underlined in red; the name "Katushev" is visible at the bottom]

Yazov, Kryuchkov Reactions to Arrest Noted

PM2308133791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[Report by D. Molchanov under the general heading: "'Eight' Arrested": "We Report the Details"]

[Text] Dmitriy Yazov walked up the airport steps as master and walked down them as master back in Moscow. When he headed toward the airport building, the usual crowd rushed after him as always—guards and secretaries. (It later emerged that most of these people were RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] personnel disguised in VV [expansion unknown] uniform). But then something unusual happened: About 20 paces before they got to the door, the people behind him formed a rectangle and surrounded the marshal on three sides. Viktor Barannikov, RSFSR internal affairs minister, clapped Dmitriy Timofeyevich's personal bodyguard on the back, saying: "It's the end of the line." Yazov seemed not to hear this. Ten paces later, glimpsing a figure in the doorway, he said, turning either to Baklanov or Tizyakov beside him: "Look, I think they are going to arrest me."

He was not mistaken. "Come with me, please." The defense minister put his hands behind his back.

Getting into the automobile Yazov threw his peaked cap into the car in irritation. Eyewitnesses do not agree on precisely what he said, but it was something like "I've blown it."

V.A. Kryuchkov took his arrest calmly. The people who arrested him, however, did not see this calmness as self-possession on the part of the KGB head. "You get the impression that Kryuchkov and the other coup organizers do not realize what they have done," said Major General Dunayev, Russian deputy MVD minister, who was involved in the arrest. "I then asked Vladimir Aleksandrovich: Do you realize what punishment awaits you? He was surprised. He said that trying him and the other members of the State Committee for the state of emergency would bring no glory or prestige to Russia or the Union."

Baklanov has been let off for the time being. His status as a USSR people's deputy entitles him to immunity and, until the USSR Supreme Soviet authorizes them [plural as published] to be arrested, they will be at liberty. Starodubtsev has fled. When asked about him, KGB Colonel S.V. Stepashin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Security Commission, considered the matter a lost cause. "He is somewhere in the Moscow area, but he no longer poses a threat to the country's agriculture or security."

Kryuchkov Has No 'Regret'

LD2308132291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Kryuchkov, former head of the KGB and one of the participants in the coup attempt, feel deeply about everything that has happened, but at the same time does not experience any particular regret. This is the way in which the information agencies have reported on a video recording of Kryuchkov's conversation with a Soviet journalist. The recording was shown on American television yesterday and was obtained by the CBS Television Network.

As the former KGB head said in the interview, he does not believe he has done anything in his life for which his country could reproach him. At the same time, he said that if he could turn back the clock—say, for six days—then he would have acted quite differently and would not be sitting here under arrest. As Kryuchkov said, he is relying on the fact that the investigation will be conducted in an unprejudiced manner. He also expressed the hope that the investigation of the coup would result in his release. [video shows clip of Kryuchkov's interview on American television, with caption "from Soviet television"]

KGB Dissociates Itself From 'Conspirators'

LD2208144391 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—In connection with the coup attempt by a group of statesmen, the Soviet KGB Board, on behalf of all its personnel, considers its expedient to state the following:

"The activities of conspirators thwarted by resolute actions by the country's democratic forces, cannot be considered otherwise, but as an action against constitutional power and law and order, which the KGB should protect.

"KGB servicemen have nothing in common with illegal actions by the group of adventurists. They take hard the fact that the honour of state security bodies has been sullied by the Soviet KGB head's participation in the so-called Emergency Committee.

"The board called on leaders of KGB bodies to carry out their activities, proceeding from the political and legal assessment by the Soviet president and in full compliance with the Soviet Constitution, laws and decisions by the country's president."

Shebarshin Bans CPSU Cells in KBG

LD2308124191 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Acting KGB Chief Leonid Shebarshin today banned the activity of Communist Party cells in all structures of the State Security Committee, including the KGB troops.

The order does not allow the creation of organisational structures of other political parties and movements in the KGB.

According to the KGB's Public Liaison Centre, the order has entered into force.

Moiseyev 'Disgusted' by Pugo, Yazov, Kryuchkov

OW2208193591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Konstantin Lubenchenko told journalists that in the afternoon, August 19, in a telephone conversation, Chief of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff, General Mikhail Moiseyev, said that the coup had taken him unawares and that he had no complete information about the events.

General Moiseyev told Lubenchenko that he was disgusted by Pugo, Yazov and Kryuchkov, and described the coup as an anti-constitutional act and as a badly-done job.

Konstanin Lubenchenko and General Moiseyev agreed that in parliament they would speak about the need to reorganize the Defence Ministry and about a military reform.

Yakovlev Scorns 'New Heroes' of Coup Resistance

914B0321D Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Article by V. Nadein: "Old Punks Clamoring To Be Heroes"]

[Text] Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev fit a problem whose solution is extraordinarily complex into one phrase of his presentation at a session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

He said: "Too many new heroes are coming forth now. The same punks may appear tomorrow around the USSR president."

Wednesday evening saw dozens of confirmations of this. The old punks invaded the blue screen in droves—in order to wash themselves clean. They feverishly felt around in the drawers of their polished desks, searching in vain for just any scrap of paper. No, perhaps not a scrap of paper; perhaps just some pathetic pretext that would corroborate their claims to heroic resistance to the junta.

It looked pathetic.

What prevented them from coming to the "house" on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment, like Shevardnadze, in order to be among those who were in mortal danger?

Why did they not follow the lead of Mstislav Rostropovich?

He should be the one to bask in a luxurious room in the Metropol in view of his prominence, wealth, and detachment as a foreigner. However, the great musician, a resident of the city of Washington, came to the "White House" of Russia. We, who had stood in the rain for many hours by then, felt heartened and relieved when we heard his simple words: "I love you, and I am proud of you."

The emboldened punks are presenting their pants as the main evidence of their struggle to the death against the junta. Look, they say, we did not shit them right away; it is just that we do not think well on our feet. How are we to check now to see whether they are presenting the same pants?

They could do anything. They turned from Leninists into Stalinists over night, even gaining some in the process. From Stalinists they changed their feathers and became Khrushchevites, and from Khrushchevites they converted to Brezhnevites, Andropovites, Chernenkovites, and Gorbachevians.

They did not feel comfortable as Gorbachevians, but they were not Yeltsinite material. They developed a craving for sweets, for Yanayevism.

All of these punks surrounded Gorbachev for many years, defiling perestroyka with the malodorous aroma of good old communism. The president patiently inhaled, first for strategic and later for tactical reasons.

At present there is no need at all for such contrivances. Of course, now we will be able to ascertain easily whether he tolerated this aroma with great difficulty or inhaled it with relish.

However, the problem of creating a new presidential team has never been that difficult before. His duty forces the president to sweep out all quasi-Junta filth. The Constitution allows him to once again place his people everywhere.

Where are they, and who are they, our president's own people?

We can see clearly in Yanayev's case how "our men" are bred in a cadre test tube of communism: Being a good old Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] boy, a drinker at government banquets, a henchman of the KGB in the international youth movement, even now he certainly experiences no pangs of conscience for selling out his credulous protector so quickly. Such was his conditioning.

Where and how are the worthy ones to be found, without questionnaires, without entries, without the credentials of mediocrity? Gorbachev has clearly not figured out Yeltsin's cadre secret. Otherwise Academician Shatalin would be at his side today rather than with Boris Nikolayevich. The Higher Party School, the Institute of Social Sciences, the party incubators which have been renamed universities of sweet-smelling philosophies for the sake of euphony, but which have the same rectors and the same special food rations—these are not capable of producing anything but Yanayevs.

The problem becomes graver because the mechanism of Union control by the parliament will hardly be set in motion in the immediate future. Its intellectual capacities are seriously overburdened to begin with.

The new punks are a very serious problem. There is no old method of solving it. But has our president mastered new methods?

The most dangerous answer is: We will live to see.

If the new team is put together according to old canons, we will hardly like what we see, provided that we live to see it.

Procurator General Interviewed on Coup Attempt

LD2208155291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1307 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Interview with Nikolay Semenovich Trubin, USSR procurator general, by correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov; place and date not given; from the "Mayak Panorama" program—recorded]

[Text] As is known, the USSR Procuracy has instituted a criminal case against the former members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency on the basis of the article referring to betrayal of the homeland. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov met Nikolay Semenovich Trubin, prosecutor general of the USSR. He asked him several questions about this issue:

[Fedorov] Nikolay Semenovich, many people today are worried by the question of how this could have happened, how a junta, how a group of putchists, was able to seize power for several days, having trampled upon the Constitution, the law, and on common human values. How was it able to set in motion the enormous social masses and the Army? There have been human casualties. If one remembers that each one of these eight—I will not on this occasion give them either a human or legal description—in his time received the support of the President, the legal President of the country, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, when he was elected to his post—but all this was in the past, and many people are asking where you were at this time, the country's prosecutor general, the main person standing guard over the law and the Constitution?

[Trubin] To begin with, I will answer the first part of your question, what made it possible for the putchists to act in an anticonstitutional fashion. In these individuals' actions we can see clear indications of a plot aimed at seizing power. History testifies that, in such cases, Constitutions are trampled upon, and that is what happened in this particular incident. I will answer the second part of your question by saying that I was in Cuba at this time on an official trip, and I learned of these events from the Soviet embassy in Cuba on the day of my departure.

[Fedorov] I have the following question: On 19 August, the day of the putsch, when all the newspapers were silent, the juridical newspaper [yuridicheskaya gazeta] that appeared on that day carried an interview with you headlined: Constitutional Order is the Task of the Whole of Society. It struck a discordant note with the situation that had arisen, for in it you were calling for fulfillment of the decrees of the legally elected President, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, by legal and constitutional methods. At the same time—I have here in front of me today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which says that Nikolay Trubin, prosecutor general of the USSR, who was in Cuba at this time, stated that the changes in the Soviet Union were allegedly brought about by the need to restore legality in the country, and were aimed at saving the economy and continuing the course toward democratization. How would you comment on this report?

[Trubin] I have always spoken in support of the Constitution, in favor of observance of the laws, in favor of law and order. As far as alleged information about my statements during my stay in Cuba is concerned, here, well, I don't know, some inaccurate information is being published. I met journalists in Cuba on the day of my arrival; then during my meeting with Comrade Escalona, the President of the National Assembly of People's Government; and at the time of the signing of the protocol on further cooperation with the Procuracy of the Republic of Cuba.

During my meetings—particularly during my meetings with Escalona—I did indeed speak about the difficult situation of our economy, about the difficult state of law and order in our country. At the same time, I said that we set great hopes on the conclusion and the upcoming signing of the new Union treaty, which will set out a clear delimitation of the competences of the Union and the republics, and we hope that the situation will gradually improve, and that the country will get out of the crisis.

All the changes in the Soviet Union which we expect should be achieved strictly in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the Soviet Union, with the laws of the republics which do not contravene all-Union laws, and with the decrees of the President of the USSR, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Fedorov] Here we have come to the main issue, about which the Procuracy of the Soviet Union made a statement yesterday. How would you, on the basis of the law and the Constitution and the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, describe everything that took place during these past few days?

[Trubin] I returned to Moscow and took up my work on 21 August. On that same day, after I had received more exhaustive information during the afternoon, the decision was made to institute criminal proceedings, because the actions of the so-called State Emergency Committee contained evident indications of a plot aimed at seizing power. Here one could give a detailed legal analysis of all of their actions, but I think that there is no need to do this.

[Fedorov] Who is heading the investigation team?

[Trubin] My decision on the institution of criminal proceedings states that the investigation should be entrusted to the directorate for investigating particularly important cases. Comrade Kravtsov, deputy procurator general of the USSR, will lead the investigation. I have personally taken on myself the supervision of the investigation.

In accordance with the existing legislation, the period of the investigation is two months. This period could be extended, but we have set the task of completing the investigation in as short a period as possible.

Servicemen Demand Removal of Coup Supporters

LD2208190691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1647 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—Servicemen of the country's armed forces, Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and KGB who during the days of the state coup defended the Russian House of Soviets, have addressed an urgent demand to Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin calling for the immediate removal from their posts of generals, admirals and other highly-placed officers who consciously carried out the instructions of the anti-constitutional state of emergency committee. The appeal states that the junta committed high treason because of the fact that it relied on these military officials who owe their loyalty to the party apparat rather than to the people and their oath of allegiance.

The party should immediately be removed from the country's armed forces, the MVD and KGB, their military-political structures should be abolished, and in their place a service of moral and psychological training should be established. The document points out that in the coming few days we demand that this issue which has been pending for some time should be resolved, otherwise none of us have any guarantee that a tragedy of this nature will not be repeated in the future.

Supreme Soviet Appraisal of Emergency Decrees

914B0317A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

["Opinion of the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation and Law and Order Committee on the Documents of the State Committee for the State of Emergency"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Making a legal appraisal of the documents of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR presented by the vice president of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation and Law and Order Committee has reached the following conclusions:

1. As grounds for promulgation of the edict of the vice president of the USSR on the impossibility of M.S. Gorbachev carrying out the duties of president of the USSR because of his state of health and the "Statement of the Soviet Leadership" reference was made to Article 127, Paragraph 7 of the USSR Constitution.

Announcing the transfer of the authority of the president of the USSR to the vice president given the impossibility of the president of the USSR's performance of his duties, Article 127, Paragraph 7 of the USSR Constitution presupposes first and foremost the existence of information from the president himself (if he is physically in a position to do so) and the findings of a competent medical commission. Such documents were lacking at the time of the release of the edict of the vice president concerning his assumption of the duties of president of the USSR. The adduced interpretation logically ensues from the rules contained in Article 127, Paragraph 4 and Article 127, Paragraph 7 of the USSR Constitution; the question of the transfer of authority is decided in this way in other countries (the United States, France).

2. Concerning the imposition of the state of emergency:

a) legislation clearly specifies the authorities with the right to impose a state of emergency. Neither the USSR Constitution nor the USSR law "Legal Treatment of a State of Emergency" of 3 April 1990 provide for the right of imposition of a state of emergency by a group of officials calling themselves the "Soviet leadership";

b) neither the USSR Constitution nor the USSR law "Legal Treatment of a State of Emergency" make provision for the creation "for the control of the country and the effective exercise of the conditions of the state of emergency" of such a body as the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, even less for the possibility of its usurpation of the functions belonging to any constitutional body whatever, the USSR Security Council, for example;

c) in accordance with the law, a state of emergency is imposed with the consent of the Supreme Soviet Presidium or other supreme organ of state power of the corresponding republic on whose territory such conditions are imposed, and only given the absence of such a decision does the president of the USSR have the right to impose a state of emergency with the immediate submittal of the decision thus adopted for the approval of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this case the highest organs of state power of the republics were not even notified of the proposed action;

d) the law provides for specification of the territorial boundaries of the effect of the state of emergency upon its announcement, which were not specified in the statement signed by G. Yanayev, V. Pavlov, and O. Baklanov;

e) it ensues from the sense of Article 11 of the law that under state of emergency conditions public order is secured mainly by forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Only in exceptional cases is the enlistment of military units of the USSR Armed Forces and the Committee for State Security allowed. There were no exceptional circumstances for the commitment to Moscow and other localities of units of the USSR Armed Forces—armored subunits, even less;

f) USSR legislation makes no provision for the promulgation of enforceable enactments in the form of a statement of a group of officials, and such documents may not serve as the legal grounds for actions of official authorities and subunits of the USSR Armed Forces and the Committee for State Security.

3. Article 4, Clause 14 of the USSR law "Legal Treatment of a State of Emergency" accords the organs of state power and administration the right under state of emergency conditions "to establish control of the media," but not to terminate their activity. The measures adopted by the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR concerning the mass media are in conflict with legislation.

4. The decrees of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR are without legal force as of the time they were adopted.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation and Law and Order Committee affirms the absence of grounds for deprivation of the president of the USSR of the possibility of performance of the duties entrusted to him by the Constitution and laws of the USSR and the imposition of a state of emergency and the failure to conform to the USSR Constitution of the formation for the control of the country of the State Committee and its usurpation of the functions of an organ of state power. The Committee deems it necessary to cancel by a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet the state of emergency in the localities in which it was imposed, to cancel the edict of the vice president of the USSR of 18 August 1991 on his assumption of president of the USSR, and to recognize as null and void the subsequent enactments adopted on behalf of the acting president of the USSR, the Soviet leadership, and the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and also all enactments adopted in execution thereof. The Committee also deems it necessary to examine the question of the removal from office of the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and the institution of proceedings against them in connection with the violation of the USSR Constitution and laws of the USSR. In addition, the preparation and submittal for consideration by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR of a draft enforceable enactment regulating the procedure of realization of the provisions of Article 127, Paragraph 7 of the USSR Constitution would seem necessary.

[Signed] Yu.Kh. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation and Law and Order Committee

Adopted at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation and Law and Order Committee on 22 August 1991

IZVESTIYA Describes Coup Organization

914B0319A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Article by N. Burbyga, V. Rudnev, and S. Mostovshchikov: "Actors and Roles: How a Coup d'Etat Was Accomplished in the USSR"]

[Text] **In these notes, which consist of virtually nothing but facts, we would like to discuss the instructions and assignments given by the so-called "State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR" to various state officials. As we see it, this information makes it possible to gain an idea of the technology of the coup and the behavior of the people who still hold key positions in the state for the time being.**

From a conversation with Lieutenant General Nikolay Britvin, chief of the Military Political Directorate of the USSR KGB Border Guard Troops:

[Britvin] The Border Guard Troops were placed on increased readiness alert [povyshennaya gotovnost] because of the state of emergency declared in the country. What does this mean? On that day, our main task was to ensure security on the border.

[IZVESTIYA] That is, the border was closed to our fellow citizens?

[Britvin] Not quite. Our fellow citizens could still travel abroad if they had appropriate documents and visas. However, I would like to specify that the Border Guards did not determine who to let out of the country and who to let in.

[IZVESTIYA] Were there any instructional documents regarding this?

[Britvin] No. We did not have written instructions.

From a conversation with Lieutenant General Leonid Zolotov, chief of staff of the Moscow Military District. Let us recall that as early as the morning of 20 August, this general stressed in a conversation with an

IZVESTIYA correspondent that the endeavor into which the Army was being dragged yet again was hopeless and criminal.

[IZVESTIYA] Leonid Sergeyevich, what documents did you and Commandant of Moscow Colonel General N. Kalinin use as guidelines during all of these days?

[Zolotov] There were mainly oral instructions from Minister of Defense, Marshal of the USSR D. Yazov and Deputy Minister of Defense for Extreme Situations Colonel General V. Achalov who played the role of coordinator.

[IZVESTIYA] As far as we know, there are packages for extreme situations in each unit...

[Zolotov] Indeed, there are such packages containing documents. However, they are intended for the event of war. This is why we did not resort to them in this situation.

[IZVESTIYA] Who gave the order to send two divisions to the capital city?

[Zolotov] Yazov.

[IZVESTIYA] What did you do? After all, the divisions report directly to the Moscow Military District, do they not?

[Zolotov] Yes. These are our divisions. The decision to bring them to Moscow came as an absolute surprise to us. We immediately began asking the minister questions: Who are we going to fight and why? However, no explanations followed. We were faced with a fait accompli—execute the order! We took a Moscow handbook and tourist maps, and began to determine where to station combat vehicles. Everything was done conditionally and approximately; it was taken into account that we had two divisions available, whereas Moscow has many important facilities, foreign representative offices and embassies. The divisions had to be brought into the city at an inconvenient time, when road traffic was the heaviest. Luckily, everything ended well, without excesses or traffic accidents.

[IZVESTIYA] Did you have a plan for taking "facilities under guard?"

[Zolotov] For the most part, these were oral instructions from General Achalov and several encrypted messages, written instructions from **General of the Army M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.**

[IZVESTIYA] What task did they set?

[Zolotov] In short, get out there and stand...

[IZVESTIYA] How was the withdrawal of the troops from Moscow carried out?

[Zolotov] We did not have an order from the top to pull the troops out of Moscow. This is why Colonel General N. Kalinin, troop commander of the district, assumed the decision to pull out in view of the changing situation.

[IZVESTIYA] Are you aware that several officers and servicemen went over to the side of the Russian Government?

[Zolotov] No. Commanders and servicemen carried out all orders of the minister of defense to the letter. In three days, we did not have a single emergency situation. Nobody went anywhere or defected.

Three days in the life of **Leonid Kravchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio [State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company],** whose establishment treated the country to sad music during the coup and almost completely deprived USSR citizens of genuine information about the development of events, deserve much attention. Gosteleradio gave the people, who were in shock, only one TV channel and two official radio channels, whose operation was structured strictly in compliance with the plans of the state criminals who had seized power.

During the daylight hours on 22 August, L. Kravchenko told us, one would think quite frankly, about what happened to him and his establishment between that sad Monday and that joyous Wednesday. From the tone of his conversation with an IZVESTIYA correspondent, it could be inferred that the Gosteleradio chairman was extremely agitated, not to say lost.

After midnight on 19 August, he was awakened by a telephone call at his dacha, and ordered to come to Moscow immediately "to receive extremely important instructions." Leonid Petrovich does not remember precisely who called because during these days virtually all leaders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, except, perhaps, Yazov, were calling him continuously. At first Kravchenko tried to stall for time, perhaps because he understood that this was serious. Nonetheless, he went from his dacha home to Taganka where "they found him anyway."

As he says, at 0500 hours on the morning of 19 August, **in the building of the CPSU Central Committee,** he was handed a full package of the now infamous documents signed by the upstart leaders of the country. These terrible documents were to be read to the people. Leonid Kravchenko, by all signs a cautious man, said that he would not put this on the air until everything had been disseminated by TASS, and referred the documents to the main information agency of the country.

When the instructions from the putschists came through on the teletypes, Gosteleradio filled the air waves with them. As Leonid Petrovich says, this was not particularly difficult—no announcers refused. The only complication was getting to Gosteleradio and letting employees and technicians in: Everything was strictly controlled by the military and the KGB. The control was such that initially they did not let Kravchenko himself into the building.

As he says, Leonid Petrovich received verbal instructions regarding a sharp cutback of TV and radio broadcasting during the first day of the coup. But he categorically demanded that everything be certified officially and in writing.

The Gosteleradio chairman admitted: "I understood that ultimately I would be held accountable for everything."

This is how Resolution No. 3 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency came into being.

However, Leonid Kravchenko, who bought some insurance this way, says that he tried to resist the actions of the upstart authorities. In his opinion, this was not left outside the frame—in Leonid Petrovich's version, the sad music is also a form of protest of sorts. In addition, he considers the fact that he "succeeded in preventing the control of the KGB over script files"—that is, in effect, the verbatim content of the broadcasts. The Chekist censors had virtually been sent to Gosteleradio, but Kravchenko maintains that he managed to talk Kryuchkov out of doing this.

The Gosteleradio chairman is also proud of the "Vremya" program produced on the first day of the coup. In his opinion, the broadcast was as objective as possible given that the tanks were all around. In addition, after the broadcast a major row broke out. Pugo and others called and demanded that Kravchenko be called on the carpet. But he talked his way out of it and advised them to call in his deputy Lazutkin, who was on duty during "Vremya," for a "dressing down."

At [unclear printing—either 1800 or 2000] hours on 21 August, Gorbachev called Kravchenko. He summoned Kravchenko from the switchboard room. Leonid Petrovich, who switched to a safe line [zakrytaya svyaz] and, in his words, chased all unauthorized persons out of the room from which he was talking, first wrote down the text of an appeal from the president to the people, and subsequently responded to a quite unpleasant question of a personal- public nature from Gorbachev: How did he end up in the company of criminals?

Apparently it will now be difficult to reconstruct the exact content of Leonid Kravchenko's responses. However, in his words, the essence boiled down to the fact that, first, they pressured him and, second, he did not think it was all really serious, he thought that Gorbachev would come back soon. After all, Yanayev had said that Mikhail Sergeyevich was his friend...

For now, the USSR Gosteleradio chairman has been relieved of his duties for abetting traitors to the Motherland by an order from B.N. Yeltsin.

Chief of the Moscow Militia Nikolay Myrikov managed to be deputy military commandant for less than a day. An order appointing him was brought to Myrikov's reception room at 2330 hours on 20 August, after the imposition of a curfew. Prior to this, he did not know anything about his new role. The freshly appointed militia lieutenant general managed to circulate to lower echelons instructions for setting up rayon commandant offices and enforcing the curfew more strictly. In the morning, the order from the commandant was read to the personnel.

Nikolay Myrikov says that he understood right away that it was impossible to impose a real curfew in Moscow—there were not enough people, and the military had materiel only. It is quite possible that the deputy commandant would have tried to do something, but midday on 21 August he had already lost his new position. On 22 August, the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet relieved Nikolay Myrikov of his current position, appointing V. Komissarov City Directorate of Internal Affairs chief.

The ex-deputy commandant says: "I have not carried out any instructions from the State Committee for the State of Emergency."

The plans of a group of comrades who proclaimed themselves to be the "Soviet leadership" regarding the introduction of an abundance of foodstuffs in the USSR within one week, less expensive goods for children, and a price reduction in public catering came close to being carried out. Point 11 of Resolution No. 1 obligated a number of ministries to take stock of foodstuffs and industrial resources and to submit proposals to reduce the recently raised prices. A protocol with specific instructions reached the USSR Ministry of Trade quite quickly. However, **in the words of First Deputy Minister Petr Kondrashov,** they did not manage to do anything properly because on 21 August, during the day, somebody called his reception room from the secretariat of Comrade Senko, a deputy chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, and asked that the protocol be returned. This was done. Therefore, no traces of activities by the State Committee for the State of Emergency remain in the USSR Ministry of Trade. Therefore, abundance is not to be expected in one week.

And Now About Members of the "Eight"

Yesterday, we reported on the arrest of the members of the so- called "State Committee for the State of Emergency" quoting TASS, REUTERS, and AFP. After the newspaper was published, officials did not confirm this information. Late in the evening, a statement by USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin, who returned from abroad, was disseminated regarding the institution of criminal proceedings with regard to an instance of conspiracy in the country and the anticonstitutional removal of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev from power under Article 64 of RSFSR Criminal Code—treason to the Motherland.

On the morning of 22 August, we clarified the situation. There was no communication with USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin. Comments by his first deputy **Aleksey Vasilyev** were brief: "From Monday on, we continued to act in keeping with the USSR Constitution and laws. I did not give instructions to execute the orders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. On 21 August, the Procurator General instituted criminal proceedings against the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. I have nothing to do with the investigation of this case.

Deputy USSR Procurator General Vladimir Kravtsev.

[Kravtsev] I have been instructed to organize the investigation of a criminal case of the former members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. The USSR procurator general assumed personal responsibility for monitoring the progress of the investigation. An operational investigative group consisting of the functionaries from the USSR Procuracy staff has been set up. We enlist investigators from the Procuracy of Russia and the Main Military Procuracy.

[IZVESTIYA] Will KGB investigators and operatives participate in the investigation?

[Kravtsev] Not for the time being. However, I do not rule out the possibility that we will give them certain assignments of an operational nature.

[IZVESTIYA] Have the conspirators been arrested?

[Kravtsev] The USSR procurator general has issued verbal instructions to detain them. I do not have his written authorization. Moreover, the issue of arresting G. Yanayev as vice president of the country and USSR People's Deputies V. Starodubtsev and O. Baklanov should be resolved by the USSR Supreme Soviet first.

[IZVESTIYA] Where are the conspirators now?

[Kravtsev] I do not have information on their being detained or arrested. I will say one thing for sure: They are within the borders of the USSR, and their whereabouts is being monitored by appropriate services.

We called Minister of Internal Affairs of Russia Viktor Barannikov.

[Barannikov] We are in touch with the Procuracy of Russia concerning the investigation of the circumstances of an attempt at a coup d'etat in the country. I may communicate that at a given hour (1100 hours) V. Kryuchkov, A. Tizyakov, and D. Yazov were arrested. We are keeping them in a secure place.

[IZVESTIYA] Are you not afraid of an attempt by like-minded people still at large to free them?

[Barannikov] The place where we are keeping them is quite secure, and the guard is strong enough to withstand any assault.

Later we managed to hear the opinion of **Procurator General of Russia Valentin Stepankov:**

[Stepankov] We are operating in the existing situation independently of the USSR Procuracy. On 21 August, I instituted criminal proceeding against individuals suspected of high treason, the members of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency. In the morning, upon returning from the Crimea, V. Kryuchkov, D. Yazov, and A. Tizyakov were arrested on my orders at the airport. Our investigators searched the apartment of G. Yanayev, and at present he is being interrogated at the RSFSR Procuracy. Orders for his arrest were also issued by me.

I also ordered a search of the apartment of B. Pugo and his arrest. Unfortunately, the former minister of internal affairs of the country shot himself before our operatives arrived. His wife also attempted suicide; she is in a hospital now.

[IZVESTIYA] What about the rest of the plotters?

[Stepankov] V. Pavlov is in the hospital with extreme hypertension [gipertonicheskiy kriz] under the control of militia operatives. V. Starodubtsev has left Moscow, but his movements are being monitored, and we are now taking measures to deliver him to Moscow for interrogation. O. Baklanov who, like V. Starodubtsev, has deputy immunity, is also under our surveillance [kontrol].

[IZVESTIYA] A statement from people's deputies of Russia has been disseminated to the effect that then acting USSR Procurator General Aleksey Vasilyev had demanded that procurators reporting to him, including you, follow instructions from the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

[Stepankov] I repeat that we acted on our own in the situation which existed. I was appointed by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and confirmed as procurator general of Russia by the Congress of People's Deputies. I report only to them. I implemented only their decisions, which is what I demanded from the Russian procurators reporting to me as well.

CPSU 'Littering' Interior Ministry

OW2208194691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lately, many of the Communist Party officials have taken jobs at the Interior Ministry bodies, "littering" them with even more politics. Ultimately, all this had created favourable conditions for an attempted coup in the USSR. This statement was made by chief of the Personnel Division of the USSR Interior Ministry's Investigation Department, Colonel Valeriy Titov.

In his opinion, the politization of the Interior Ministry allowed the former minister Boris Pugo to declare that [the coup] had been supported by the Soviet Interior Ministry. The majority of the Interior Ministry officers, said V. Titov, never backed the putschists. He also said that not only the eight key organizers of the coup, but also all those guilty of it must be punished. In his opinion, the old apparatus must be completely removed from the Interior Ministry, the KGB and the Armed Forces. Otherwise, more coups may occur, he said.

PRAVDA Promises To Renew Editorial Staff

PM2208220391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

["Statement of the Editorial Office Collective"]

[Text] During the past days our motherland was on the verge of disaster. A group of people vested with power took anticonstitutional actions—an attempted coup d'etat—and thereby betrayed the interests of the people.

PRAVDA journalists were present, along with their colleagues from the other mass media, at the hottest spots during those days and nights. But again, for the umpteenth time now, unobjective and wishy-washy assessments appeared in the newspaper's articles. We must with utter frankness state that one of the basic reasons for this was many years of dependence on orders from above. We are convinced that a resolute stance by the leading organs of the CPSU regarding the self-styled "committee" promptly stated from the pages of PRAVDA could have altered the situation. The inactivity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat at that critical moment has rebounded today on the entire party and all Communists who are committed to the democratic renewal of the country and has given grounds for the anticommunist campaign that is being launched.

Considerable responsibility for the unprincipled stance adopted by the newspaper lies with the editorial office leadership. The PRAVDA collective has made a decision to renew its editorial collegium in the next few days.

The correctness of those comrades who have been proposing since the 19th all-Union party conference that PRAVDA be changed from an organ of the CPSU Central Committee into a partywide political newspaper has become obvious. The free expression by it of the opinions of all communists and the independent and consistent defense of working people's social interests will undoubtedly serve to revive the authority of the party and its political role.

The editorial office collective today makes the decision to transform PRAVDA into a general political newspaper of the CPSU and urges the upcoming extraordinary 29th party congress to support this decision.

The PRAVDA editorial office collective.

[In the masthead of this edition PRAVDA describes itself as a "General Political Newspaper of the CPSU," whereas previous editions had carried the description "Organ of the CPSU Central Committee." The backpage listing of editorial personnel and positions is unchanged from previous editions]

TASS Denies Early Knowledge of Coup

LD2208135891 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—TASS journalists were surprised at the report in the newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on August 22, which was repeated by "Vesti" news programme of Russian television on the same day. Quoting an anonymous source, the newspaper claimed that "the texts of statements by Yanayev and the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR were received by the news agency on the night of August 17-18, i.e. 24 hours before the state coup". It was alleged that TASS leadership immediately got acquainted with it, after which they ordered to prepare documents for release through the news agency's channels.

This is a lie from beginning to end.

The truth is that on the night of August 19, First Deputy General Director of TASS Gennadiy Shishkin (General Director Lev Spiridonov was on vacation) was awakened and summoned to the Kremlin where he was told about the imposition of the state of emergency in the country.

At five a.m. he received the documents of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency and was sternly warned that they should be released by TASS channels for the press at 6 a.m. State security officers were permanently present in his study and controlled all his actions, presumably, in order to prevent him from undertaking any unexpected actions.

The newspaper, which published fabrications on this score, can realise without difficulty that if TASS had received these materials in advance and in established order, the fact of the coup would have been called to question.

Analysing the materials transmitted by the news agency, it is not hard to note that, despite the declared censorship, and the ban to transmit any "negative" information, permanent interference in their work, TASS journalists honestly fulfilled their duty, tried to release objective information on its domestic and foreign wires, including about disturbances and protests in various regions of the USSR, the rejection by illegally-elected structures of the self-declared conspiratorial organ, strikes and other actions. The mass media received information about the position of the Russian leadership and the documents they adopted.

Without any distortions, cuts and other tendentious transformations, TASS has managed to relay to newspapers, TV and radio statements by leaders of major powers, politicians, influential international organisations that condemned the coup attempt.

Journalists of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and Russian television could receive trustworthy information about all this from TASS, if they wanted.

Letter Lauds IZVESTIYA Defense of Press

914B0321C Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[From the employees of the Anne Burda Publishing House, FRG: "Telegram to IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] Dear friends and colleagues:

We have just received a report that the coup attempt has failed and the emergency commission has taken flight.

Together with you, we are happy that democracy and the Russian people have won. We congratulate you and the entire collective of the newspaper. IZVESTIYA has boldly opposed attempts by the putschists to rob the press of freedom. We are filled with pride to be cooperating with colleagues like you.

We will be hoping for the best for our joint endeavor in the future as well.

Offenburg, FRG

22 August 1991

[Signed] Employees of the Anne Burda Publishing House

Journalists Union on Duties, Obligations

914D0321A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Appeal of the Union of Journalists: "Appeal to the Members of the USSR Union of Journalists"]

[Text] The USSR Union of Journalists calls on colleagues to prevent lies and misinformation as they continue to produce their newspapers and TV and radio programs, and to remember the personal responsibility each one of us has to the readers, viewers, listeners, and our own conscience.

The Union of Journalists states firmly that it may include people with any views and political convictions in its ranks, but there will be no place among us for liars and scoundrels.

Requests Investigation of Officials

914B0321B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Letter from the USSR Union of Journalists: "To the USSR Procuracy"]

[Text] The USSR Union of Journalists requests that it be determined which officials gave instructions to suspend the release of newspapers and radio and TV programs, and that it be ensured that the damages sustained by the editorial offices, their employees, and their subscribers be indemnified in keeping with existing procedures.

Coup Effects on Journalism Standards Viewed

914B0321E Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Article by I. Ovchinnikova: "In the Light of Conscience"]

[Text] And so, it is all behind us. TASS has been authorized to report that we will once again hear the voices that were silent for three whole days, we will see on our television screens the eyes of those who have no need to hide them, and under newspaper items signatures whose owners have nothing to be ashamed of. Publications halted by brute force will be published—KURANTY and NEZAVISIMAYA, KOMSOMOLKA and MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS and... But why list them? All we need to do is take from the file the TASS report from three days ago, crumpled in impotent fury, and we will discover the list of publications released to the public by this same agency and just as dispassionately—publications whose editors in chief earned the trust of the impostors who seized power.

Our newspaper was granted this dubious honor as well. What torments were experienced by all to whom this honor fell when they were deciding what to do: join ranks with their victimized colleagues or not miss the opportunity to bring at least a word of truth to millions of readers. Even if it is abridged, even if it is indecently truncated. And still, still, still...

These days all of us together and each one individually have undergone a test of the measure of our journalistic responsibility, such as the young ones have never experienced before. As for those who are a bit older...

And those who are a little older, including the author of these lines, recall that interminable day in 1964 when down the marble IZVESTIYA staircase, passing floor after floor, descended the chief who was honored and respected by all—Aleksey Ivanovich Adzhubey. We accompanied him, clenching our fists and not hiding our tears, but that evening we produced a newspaper in no way like the one we had produced together with him the day before.

How confident they were—those who intended to hold the power over this immense country in their dirty hands—that everything would go smoothly, according to the same kind of sure-fire scenario. And what a mistake they made by failing to place on the scales of history something that could not be measured or touched—the human conscience, awakened by the past six years. Could it have occurred to any of them that, for example, IZVESTIYA printing shop workers—page layout artists and typesetters, printers and stereotypers—at exactly 1300 hours on 19 August would declare with all possible determination: The newspaper will not go out without an appeal to the people from President of Russia Boris Yeltsin. At 1500 hours the editorial board headed by the acting editor in chief D. Mamleyev unanimously resolved to print that text. At 1540, when the pages were completely ready and the newspaper could go to press, the editor in chief N. Yefimov, who had been on vacation, suddenly appeared and ordered that the appeal be removed from the issue.

What would have happened even five years ago? Nothing. If he wants it removed, we will remove it: Ours is not to reason why. That would have happened, but it will never happen again. It was not voiceless nonentities but His Majesty the working class that stood before us who, by happenstance or by our own will, turned up next to the type-setting shop at that moment. They stood next to the finished pages to the death, in the literal sense of the word. And they came out on top.

How they tried to break them and prevail upon them, how they threatened them with anything and everything, and how they pressured them at every vulnerable point! Both their apartments and their wages were brought up. And there were admonitions: The content, they said, is not your concern, your concern is production. But they stood their ground: We will publish it with the appeal or we will not publish it at all.

And they did not go to press! They got their way! Rather, they did go to press, but not in the evening, rather in the morning, and even if it was not complete, even if there were small cuts, they printed the appeal, which the whole country read that same day. And even before that they reproduced the text on a hand printing press, and within a couple of minutes Muscovites walking along Pushkinskaya could see pages of the text in the hands of soldiers sitting on the plating of armored personnel carriers, and a little later—pasted to this plating. And the people read it and the people thought about what they had read and they decided for themselves what they would do after that and with whom. And none of them knew—they had no idea of the drama that was taking place behind the freshly composed lines which had become a material force before our eyes.

This was for all of us newspaper workers a remarkable example of real professional dignity. This was perhaps the first time we felt first hand how menacing the weapon in our hands is. It is equally criminal to brandish this in a senselessly dashing manner, to say nothing of dooming this weapon to inaction in its dusty scabbard when the world going through its "fatal moments," and everyone must make his choice instantly.

I do not know how TV cheaters from the "Vremya" program will be able to lift their gaze and look at the viewers after they lied egregiously to their country and their people on the evening of 20 August, pretending that there was neither a grandiose procession in Moscow with the slogan "Down with the junta!" nor standing guard for hours around the "White House," with their astonishing determination to defend the law, rights, and our tomorrow against those who were dragging us into yesterday—the determination which brought all of them together. I do not know which voices will be used by the radio liars, who cheerfully read and still more cheerfully explained the unlawful and shameless ukases of the usurpers of power. I do not know how those who resorted to journalistic craft and the capacities of printing plants in order to conceal the truth from the people are going to pick up their pens and what words will come to them.

However, I know that we will emerge from a three-day throwback to times long gone as completely different people, and not only because we once again ascertained how right the immortal lines from Brecht are: "The womb that bore the vermin is still fertile." This will also happen because we lived through these three days under the mercilessly bright light of our conscience. We do not have the right to allow this light ever to be snuffed out, be it for three days or even three minutes.

Radio Assesses Papers' Reaction to Events

LD2208210691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Press Review" program]

[Excerpts] It is pleasant and easy to make it today in contrast with the previous days. The reason is obviously well known; it's the triumph of democracy and the victory of the Soviet people in their struggle against the putschists who organized an antistate conspiracy. All the newspapers, including yesterday's supporters of the eight criminals, are rejoicing today at the fact that the country was defended, and the threat to return to Stalinism was averted.

Among those sly is the daily PRAVDA. It carries President Mikhail Gorbachev's statement, and reports about the lifting of the curfew in Moscow and the withdrawal of troops from the capital.

The leading article, under the title "Russia Saves the Union", is an example of downright hypocrisy. It tells about the Russian parliament emergency meeting, and pays homage to rational and courageous actions on the part of President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin. But what is unpleasantly striking is an address to readers saying that the newspaper was trying to give a true coverage of the events. Here too is the statement of one Russian Communist deputy who claims that the legacy or illegacy of the State Emergency Committee's actions may be judged only after all the circumstances of its creation have been revealed. What's more, he says he is greatly concerned with radicalism and neobolshevism of the Union and Russian top leaders.

This makes you stop to think that some groups in this country are still cherishing recollections of the past. They still hope to restore the order they enjoyed during the stagnant years and before. But they have nothing to celebrate today. Those are celebrating who have supported democracy and President Gorbachev and reforms.

The newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA was banned, together with other democratic publications. Nonetheless, its staff worked underground, spreading leaflets. Together with their colleagues they began to publish a co-paper, OBSHCHAYA GAZETA. [passage omitted] The paper [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] criticizes the national television and radio broadcasting company Gosteleradio, its key news program "Vremya," and ourselves. Alas, we were late in condemning the notorious emergency committee and its illegal actions. We admit the criticism is justified. [passage omitted]

OBSHCHAYA GAZETA lived only one day to reflect the tragic events and combine the efforts of all banned publications. It will now die. But the people who made it don't regret it. They did win victory. This applies to all (?honest) Soviet people and all those across the world who supported us.

A brief roundup of what the Soviet press had to say.

Paper's Staff Protests 23 Aug Non-Publication

PM2208234391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: Why the Newspaper Was Not Published"]

[Text] A statement adopted at a meeting of the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA labor collective yesterday describes as "groundless and insulting" accusations against the paper made by R. Khasbulatov in front of hundreds of thousands of Muscovites at a 22 August rally. Subsequent steps by certain publishing house components, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA journalists state, led to their newspaper's nonappearance 23 August.

"The publication of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, which was one of nine other authorized central newspapers, was dictated by a purely professional and natural desire to tell people at least some of the truth," the statement says. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA's workers draw attention to their reportage about the Vorkuta miners' strike and their chronicle of events. The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA journalists consider that there are absolutely no facts to confirm the accusation that the editorial staff slandered the Russian leadership. Only appropriate legal bodies are entitled to make such rulings, not an individual or a political rally. In a rule-of-law state only the Press Law can decide the fate of the publication of a newspaper.

'Thousands' Demonstrate at CPSU Building

LD2208173591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Hello, "Vesti" is on the air. Thousands of demonstrators have now gathered near the building of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow. Some of them stated previously their determination to storm the building. Some time before the building of the CPSU Central Committee was blockaded, the demonstrators had also flooded Dzerzhinskiy Square near the KGB building.

CPSU Buildings 'Nationalized'

LD2308051591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The buildings of the Moscow city party committee and CPSU Central Committee have been sealed up and nationalized. They are now being guarded by militia and volunteers.

Dzerzhinskiy Statue Dismantled

OW2308110591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In accordance with a decision taken by the Moscow city authorities, at 23:30 on Thursday the statue of Dzerzhinsky, Lenin's close associate who founded the Extraordinary Commission, KGB's predecessor, following the 1917 Revolution was dismantled.

Economic

Reportage on Economic Effects of Attempted Coup

Plans For Convertible Currency Stay Put

OW2208040791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Representatives of a mixed monetary committee involving Moscow and the republics at the end of a meeting in Moscow admitted the need for an early shift to an internally convertible ruble, but failed to reach agreement on how the country's monetary and fiscal policy must be formed. Speakers at the meeting voiced the idea of creating a single economic entity and a single currency market which would rule out the possibility of gambling on differing exchange rates in the republics.

They called to allow juridical persons and individuals to keep their hard currency accounts which must not be made subject to mandatory exchange.

Exchange Chairman Denies Accounts Frozen

OW2108150991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0614 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Exchange Committee of the Moscow Commodity Exchange, Mr. Yuriy Milyukov, told BN [Business News] that, on August 20, he talked on the phone with the chairman of the Association of

Commercial Banks of the Soviet Union, Sergey Egorov, who denied rumors concerning the freezing of bank and enterprise accounts. According to Mr. Egorov, Gosbank has issued instructions for banks to obey Soviet law.

State Bank Restricting Currency

OW2108134591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0614 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a decision of the Soviet state bank, Gosbank, from August 21 the sale of hard currency to citizens travelling abroad on private business will be temporarily suspended. At Gosbank IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told that citizens travelling abroad on company business (ie. funded by the hard currency budgets of enterprises and organisations) will continue to receive hard currency as before, at the state rate of $1 for R32. In answer to IF's question on the possibility of freezing the accounts of joint ventures or Soviet commercial nonstate structures in the Soviet Bank of Foreign Trade (where most accounts are held), a Gosbank representative, who wishes to remain anonymous, said that in his opinion this would not be sensible, if only from the point of view of our obligations before foreign investors. However, he said that "anything is possible."

State Bank Demands Decree Fulfillment

OW2108130191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0614 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairmen of the Soviet State Bank (Gosbank), Mr. Viktor Gerashchenko, on May 19 signed a government telegram addressed to the central (state and national) banks of the republics, the republican banks of Gosbank, regional, local, and other establishments of these banks, appealing to them to meet the first order of the Emergency Committee and fulfill the demands of Soviet laws applying to banking, and other sub-laws of the Gosbank. In the telegram, Mr. Gerashchenko also warms that "those responsible for these question who do not fulfill these demands, or stand in the way of their fulfillment, will be brought to responsibility and may lose their jobs."

Business Leaders Deny SCSE Claims

PM2308103591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by M. Berger and M. Krushinskiy: "Statement By Business Circles"]

[Text] The leaders of several informal economic structures comprising both state and nonstate enterprises that have emerged during the perestroyka years issued a joint statement on the situation in the country. This document regards the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] as an illegal unconstitutional act and voices disquiet over the possible drastic deterioration in what is already a crisis situation within the economy.

The statement was signed by USSR People's Deputy A. Volskiy, president of the USSR Scientific-Industrial Union; USSR People's Deputy V. Tikhomirov, president of the USSR Union of United Cooperatives; N. Shulyatyeva, president of the Union of USSR and Russian Small Enterprises; M. Masarskiy, president of the USSR Association of Enterprise Leaders; L. Vaynberg, chairman of the Board of the USSR Association of Joint Enterprises, International Associations, and Organizations; and representatives of other market structures.

The statement's authors regard the promises made by the SCSE to extricate the country from the economic deadlock and improve the food, housing, fuel, and consumer goods situation as devoid of any economic foundation whatsoever. The incipient de facto stifling of enterprise and destruction of market structures will only paralyze the national economy. These events will cause international cooperation to cease, without which it is inconceivable for a civilized country to lead a normal existence. Foreign investors will lose confidence in the USSR for many years to come, and the influx of investment and advanced technology will be blocked due to people's fear at the possibility of unconstitutional transformations in our country.

According to existing data, and despite the SCSE's assurances of its support for private enterprise, there are instances of property and goods belonging to nonstate enterprises being requisitioned "for the national economy." Those who think that they can supply the population with everything it needs by seizing and redistributing other people's property are profoundly misguided. To all intents and purposes, attempts are being made to break the back of a baby that could really feed the people when it grows stronger.

Another alarming fact: The activity of many joint ventures, whose total capital is estimated at billions of dollars, is in jeopardy. Many foreign firms are not only suspending their operations in the USSR but are also insisting on recalling their specialists. Consequently, not only the joint ventures but also vitally important facilities in the sphere of power generation, transport, and other sectors of the national economy are suffering.

The statement's authors voiced the hope that our country's foreign partners will display understanding and patience and that they will restore the contacts now being destroyed when the situation normalizes.

The country's largest exchanges—the Moscow Commodity Exchange and the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange—suspended trading operations 20 August; only their technical staffs are still at work. For their part, Moscow's and Russia's commercial banks have lodged a protest against attempts to restore the administrative edict system. That was their reaction to the order from V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank, to act in accordance with SCSE Resolution No. 1.

While this issue was being prepared for press, it became known that a special monetary fund has been set up to support those manning the lines around the "White House" on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment around the clock. Approximately 1.5 million rubles has already been collected. The fund's organizers include the USSR Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs, the Interregional Exchange Union, and the Association of Commercial Banks.

Commodity Exchange Resumes Operations

OW2308012691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2051 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the exchange committee of the Moscow Commodities Exchange Yuriy Milyukov sent a message to the stockholders, brokers and executives of the Russian Commodities and Materials Exchange, congratulating them on "the downfall of the criminal military junta and the inauguration of a new era of free and fair trade."

On August 22 the country's biggest Russian Commodities and Materials Exchange resumed its operations that had been suspended in protest of the coup.

Currency Panel Considers Ruble Converitibility

PM2308083591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "Convertible Ruble: Deadlines Unchanged"]

[Text] A regular sitting of the Union-Republic Currency Committee was held 19 August with the participation of representatives from the Union republics. Most of the time was taken up discussing the problem of the transition to internal convertibility of the ruble as of 1 January 1992. It was decided not to alter the deadline, but to adopt measures to accelerate this process.

Committee Deputy Chairman S. Sitaryan delivered a report on the question. In principle, nobody has any doubts about the need to switch to internal convertibility of the ruble. At the same time, many expressed support for corporate bodies and individuals to retain their hard currency accounts so that their hard currency is not subjected to mandatory exchange. Another matter is the regime for using hard currency resources on the country's territory, which must be uniform and regulated by the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] and USSR Ministry of Finances.

Slowly but surely the discussion moved round to the key problem: Will we set up a single economic space and a single hard currency market, or will we operate 15 hard currency markets with separate exchange rates and separate "rules of the game" for each one? If we convert the ruble, then hard currency will no longer belong to anybody specific and there will be a surplus of it on the market. Meanwhile, methods of regulating the hard currency exchange rate will be of paramount significance. Nowadays, since the role of the republics is increasing—including in the financial sphere—and several of them are "hogging" the hard currency for themselves, there is a need to create a single market infrastructure on Union territory which will eliminate deals on different exchange rates in each republic.

In short, the switch to convertibility requires specific preconditions and the basic argument revolved around these. The setting up of preliminary preconditions for convertibility constitutes the stance of Russia, which unfortunately was not represented at the sitting. The state of monetary circulation, overcoming the budget deficit, creating a market for means of production, the high degree of price liberalization, the introduction of a licensing and quota regime for foreign trade—all these are necessary preconditions if we are talking about real convertibility. S. Sitaryan believes that much depends on how we bear the weight of the foreign debt and also on the possibility for creating a stabilization fund (in both hard currency and rubles). The key point is what the exchange rate for hard currency will be: Will it manage to stay within reasonable limits? Forecasts range from 7 to 46 rubles to the dollar. At the maximum exchange rate, importers will have to compensate any loss through the price of goods (budget subsidies are problematic).

An important factor in all this is the mutual consent of republics. We cannot say that it will be given fully this time. Representatives of a number of republics have reiterated their former positions, so the search for the road to accord still lies ahead. Along with this, the question of a mechanism for repaying the foreign debt was discussed thoroughly. Of course, the foreign debt is indivisible: But each republic must, by some method or other, take on part of the debt and participate in the formation of resources to repay it.

Likewise, the question of how to distribute consumer goods and goods in great demand purchased through commercial credit around the republics was examined, as well as the procedure for using hard currency from Soviet raw material shipments to individual foreign countries in line with intergovernmental agreements. An appraisal was given of progress in implementing credit agreements, or more precisely on the use of credits for which agreements have already been concluded. In fact, the discussion focused on the fairest means of distributing foodstuffs and goods between individual regions. It was decided to avoid a mechanical division on the principle of "something for everyone," but to take due account of mutual exchanges of supplies between republics and the state of the consumer market in the different regions.

The discussion was led by First Deputy Premier V. Shcherbakov.

Aeroflot Announces Normal Flights Continue

OW2108234891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0614 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Union's main air travel agency reports that both international and internal flights are flying according to timetable. No change has been made to any routes.

Power Engineering Ventures Report No Progress

OW2208050591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0110 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Officials of the joint ventures specialising in power engineering are not in a hurry to make forecasts about their short-term priorities. The results of IF's [INTERFAX] telephone poll indicate that many of them prefer to continue working as they did sticking to a wait-and-see policy.

According to the information at IF's disposal, most of them had received no recommendations or instructions from their foreign partners on operational changes, although meetings were held by some to analyse the situation. Apart from rescheduling a number of planned business visits, no concrete action is expected in the near future.

Soviet entrepreneurs say more coherent reaction from western businessmen to what happened in the Soviet Union is likely to come later, probably early next month.

Agriculture

Chernoivanov Addresses Grain Situation

914A1073B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 30, Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with USSR Minister of Agriculture and Foodstuffs V. Chernoivanov by V. Voronetskiy; place and date not given: "Will There Be Grain?"]

[Text] [Voronetskiy] Will we have grain this year?

[Chernoivanov] Less grain will be harvested in the country this year than last year. The weather conditions are the main reason: There was a lengthy drought in most of the Urals and West Siberian economic regions, and in North Kazakhstan. In August and September, it will become clear how much lower the gross yield will be. However, we should not panic. There will be grain. In any event, the country will get no less grain than the yearly average in the past five-year plan.

[Voronetskiy] How will grain procurement be organized, given that this year less of it is expected to be harvested?

[Chernoivanov] Special attention will be paid to enhancing incentives for grain sales to kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. In a recent resolution of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, it was decided to channel to the governments of republics 10 percent of the assigned market allocations of passenger cars, refrigerators, washing and sewing machines, knitted goods and garments, footwear, construction materials, and other materials in short supply. They will be used for reciprocal trade against grain sold above state requisitions. It was also deemed expedient to continue in 1991 the practice of buying the grain and seeds of oil-bearing crops from kolkhozes and sovkhozes with freely convertible currency.

The previously made decision to give agricultural enterprises the right to sell up to 30 percent of grain at contract prices toward state requisitions was confirmed. Purchases of grain sold by farms at commodity exchanges at unrestricted prices have also been planned.

In addition, the Councils of Ministers of republics and the executive committees of the kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies implement programs for producing and selling foodstuffs on their own at present.

[Voronetskiy] However, the crop must be harvested and preserved before it is purchased and distributed.

[Chernoivanov] The most decisive measures are being taken to this end. A state of emergency is imposed in many republics and regions for the duration of harvesting. All human and technical reserves are mobilized. Agricultural employees will not harvest the entire crop, especially that of potatoes and vegetables, without workers and clerical employees of state enterprises and without students.

[Voronetskiy] Why does this problem recur year after year?

[Chernoivanov] The main reason is that a considerable proportion of work in rural areas is done manually to this day. The agricultural machine-building industry, our main producer of equipment, is virtually on the verge of collapse. As a result of sharply reduced deliveries of many machines and pieces of equipment to agriculture, its current level of technical equipment has fallen on the average to the 1985 level, and for some items, to the 1982 level!

By now, quite a number of measures aimed at improving material and technical support for harvesting have been taken at the Union level. Decisions have been made with regard to motor fuels and lubricants, tires, and batteries. Taking advantage of this occasion, I appeal to the leaders of the agro-industrial complexes of republics, krays, and oblasts: Allocations have been made, they should be drawn urgently, immediately. Upon receiving the necessary material and technical resources, kolkhozes and sovkhozes will accelerate the progress of harvesting.

[Voronetskiy] How much outside equipment is being used for the duration of the harvest?

[Chernoivanov] We are grateful to the Army: The latter assigned 40,000 motor vehicles for harvesting.

[Voronetskiy] Up to 30 percent of the crop perishes in our country due to all kinds of mess and mismanagement. Is there hope that this statistic will be lower now?

[Chernoivanov] We strive for this. There are enough large elevators, and they are prepared to take in the crops. However, conditions for storing agricultural products directly on the farms need to be created, and this takes years.

[Voronetskiy] Apparently, we will not be able to do without importing agricultural products this year, as well?

[Chernoivanov] It is too early to determine precise volumes now. I will say one thing: The statistics that have already been quoted in the mass media are clearly far-fetched and absolutely unrealistic. We will not need that much. This issue will be resolved after the crops are harvested.

[Voronetskiy] How much does a ton of wheat cost in the world market?

[Chernoivanov] At present, up to $80 approximately, delivery excluded.

Grain Purchases Reach 20 Million Tons

OW0608001091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2119 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Soviet Business Report]

[Text] The Soviet Minister for Agriculture and Food, Vyacheslav Chernoivanov revealed in a TV interview on Monday that state grain purchases at the end of July had reached 20 million tons.

He also noted that the average grain harvest now amounts to 21.3 centres per hectare. According to figures given by Prime Minister, Valentin Pavlov, in his speech to the Soviet parliament a month ago, state grain purchases in 1991 must amount to no less than 77 million tons.

State Grain Procurements Remain Low in Stavropol

PM1608100491 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent N. Styazhkin under the "Red Alert" rubric: "Anywhere But to the Elevator"]

[Text] Stavropol—The flow of grain into the kray's elevators and grain reception centers is drying up. Out of a gross grain harvest of more than 5 million tonnes, as yet 1.7 million tonnes have been poured into the state stores. Some 1.25 million tonnes of grain is still required to fulfill the specified volume of state deliveries.

There are mountains of grain on the threshing floors. The CPSU kray committee's newspaper STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA states in an editorial article that "the second biggest harvest in the history of the kray" has been cultivated. The article also notes that: "Some people are even going to continue taking grain to the elevators in a carefully cleaned state right up to the new year. And then to use the waste products from the grain for the needs of their livestock and to provide feed for farmstead plots... Others intend to hold back wheat entirely, and reckon up with the state in corn grain. And who can blame the peasant for this..."

Wait a moment, has the peasant made this decision—to drag out cleaning the grain until the new year so that the waste products can then be used as feed for milk and meat herds, and sold to the population? No matter what anyone else thinks, the true peasant knows that the earlier freshly threshed grain is cleansed of impurities, the easier it is to store and the fewer losses there will be.

There is a lack of cohesiveness in the authors' ideas of "holding back wheat, and supplying the state with corn grain instead," the harvesting of which, incidentally, usually finishes here just prior to the new year. The state also has an enormous need for corn in its own right. After dispatching corn to the state, however, the Stavropol area then asks for deliveries to be sent back again—to the kray's mixed feed plants. The volume of these "return" deliveries is such that the state has to share out corn purchased overseas.

Commentator on Progress of State Grain Order

LD1508200291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Talk by "Latest News" commentator Semen Astakhov]

[Text] No matter how important the news may be, probably the most important issue for us is the question of whether we will have enough of our own Soviet grain this year. So what is the situation in the fields, where the harvest is in progress, and at the elevators where the grain is being taken? Semen Astakhov, commentator for the "Latest News," will talk about this:

[Astakhov] First of all, how is the harvest going? According to figures released by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, in the country as a whole grain crops have been harvested on half of all the fields. Last week the rate of reaping and threshing fell because the harvest of winter crops is ending and that of spring crops is still only approaching. In the southern Caucasus, that is, the Kuban, Stavropolye, and the Don, the harvest of early grain crops has been completed, it can be said. The harvest is drawing to a close in the central chernozem zone and the Volga valley.

But what is happening to the grain? A total of 101 million tonnes of it is at the threshing floors of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. To be more precise, it has been threshed. This is in the country as a whole. A year ago the figure was slightly higher—115 million tonnes.

However, state grain stocks are being augmented extremely unevenly. Let us make the following comparison, for example, Kalmykia's's arable farmers have already overfulfilled the state order. Stavropolye's farmers have achieved 94 percent. In the Don the figure is above 76 percent. The Kuban farmers have completed 63 percent of the state order. But the position of farms in Tatarstan and Saratov Oblast is completely incomprehensible. There is grain at the threshing floors there. But almost nothing is reaching state stocks. In fact, only 7 percent of the threshed grain has done so.

In the Russian Federation as a whole 13.5 million tonnes have been delivered to state stores. In the Ukraine the figure is only half as much. There too there is a sharp contrast between those who understand how vitally important the state order is and those who unjustifiably hold back grain at the threshing floors. In Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Armenia too the political and economic importance of the matter is evidently not understood. All grain handed over by a republic to state resources remains in that same republic, after all—with the exception of Kazakhstan.

One other thing: You no doubt know that at the present time virtually the entire population buys bread and other products which have been baked from flour taken from state resources. Mixed feed also comes from state resources. These are the considerations and realistic calculations on which the state order of 77 million tonnes which farms have been set in the country as a whole are based. But only slightly more than one third of this has been handed over to date. Nevertheless there are real opportunities to fulfill these plans, as I have already said.

Progress of Caucasus Grain, Vegetable Harvest

LD1608120091 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14-15 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Aleshkin under the rubric "Peasants' Harvest Work": "Will Caucasian Grain Save Us?"]

[Text] Vladikavkaz—Against a background of alarming reports from various regions of the country the situation in the fields of the republics of the North Caucasus can be considered entirely satisfactory. The grain harvest has been completed in the main. The harvest is mixed: lower in some places and higher in others, but on the whole it has been worth the effort. The yield in Dagestan was 21 quintals per hectare, in Chechen-Ingushetia it was over 24, in North Ossetia it was around 33, and in Kabardino-Balkaria it was over 35 quintals.

"Our grain harvest this year is a fraction lower than last year's," said Osman Osmanov, deputy minister of agriculture of the Dagestan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], "but through expansion of sown areas the total crop proved sufficient to settle with the state. However, we will fall short of the planned volume of fruits by one-fifth. Vegetables have grown well but a problem has arisen with marketing them. But generally the harvest is progressing in an entirely organized fashion, without particular difficulties. Or rather, they do exist—holdups with fuel and a lack of spare parts and manpower. But that has always been the case."

Sergey Bekov, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush SSR Council of Ministers, gives a more optimistic assessment of the summer harvest work's first results. Enough grain has been collected to fully settle with the state. Considerably more fruit and vegetable produce than last year has been canned. The potato area has doubled compared with last year. A full harvest of this crop is expected. And corn is gratifying. Leasing relations are being intensively developed in the republic, especially in vegetable growing. Lessees have cultivated around 70 percent of all vegetables. And this has made possible a considerable increase in the production of vitamin-rich products. Chechen-Ingushetia is giving fraternal aid—fuel in particular—to the Kuban's grain farmers.

"The grain harvest in North Ossetia has taken place in an organized fashion," Vyacheslav Nikotin, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, reported, "the yield is higher than planned and there is a possibility of selling above-plan grain to the state. Matters are somewhat worse with fruit: Hail is the culprit. Nevertheless we expect to fulfill the plan for these types of produce too."

Initially the situation in the fields of Kabardino-Balkaria was developing in an alarming way. An extraordinary commission for ensuring the prompt gathering of the harvest was even organized here by a resolution of the Kabardino-Balkar SSR. It is headed by Mikhail Makhmegov, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. Thanks to the emergency measures it was possible to correct the situation.

Minister of Agriculture Amirkhan Kushkov reported that a bumper winter crop harvest has been collected—35.5 quintals per hectare. The plan for grain delivery will be fulfilled. The harvesting of cucumbers and tomatoes is being completed. There will be slightly more of them than last year. Unfortunately, potato plantations have suffered badly from drought. A harvest appreciably lower than planned is expected. But the total potato crop will be sufficient for their own needs—through truck farms, which the population have obtained this year. Energetic measures are being taken to create a livestock feed reserve.

Kabardino-Balkaria has always been famed for its orchards. Unfortunately, hail fell on four occasions this year. Consequently the orchards suffered badly—13,000 hectares had to be completely written off. Nevertheless the republic intends to meet its commitments for fruit deliveries to other regions.

Of course, behind all this relative prosperity is the profuse sweat of the toilers of the fields and their endless efforts. My interlocutors complained with one voice that this harvest time is complex as never before: Fuel and spare parts for harvesting machinery are a constant "headache," and people from the city have to be induced to come to the fields under barter deal conditions.

Mari ASSR Grain Farmers Explain Problems

PM1408154191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by A. Aleksandrovaya and V. Ivanov

[Text] The grain harvest in the Mari ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Non-Chernozem Zone is considerably worse than last year. But there are also farms there that have managed to counter the drought. It is the drought that has affected the harvest. The question now is whether the farms will be able to counter managerial chaos.

[Aleksandrovaya] How are the Don combine harvesters doing, guys?

[First unidentified worker] They're doing fine.

[Second unidentified worker] Things are going well.

[Third unidentified worker] The Don's are doing well.

[Aleksandrovaya] What about the yield?

[Third unidentified man] It'll be around 35-40.

[Aleksandrovaya] Well, 35-40. Has the drought passed you by or what?

[Second unidentified man] Not at all. We've just made good use of our agricultural equipment.

[Aleksandrovaya] The kolkhoz's grain growers have been using the lease for three years. They've put a great deal of effort and hard work into this land. They've laid good groundwork. The wheat has survived. But this year they've decided to give up the lease. They can't withstand the difficulties on their own. Nor are there any guarantees that contract commitments will be met. It's not their fault.

[V.V. Remizov, kolkhoz chairman] You would think that the harvest was under way and that we were preparing for it all summer, all year around. Whatever we do, we get nothing. There aren't even any electric light bulbs on the threshing floor at the moment. There's only just enough fuel. There are no spare parts, do you understand, none. There's nothing. We've not got enough motor transport. [passage indistinct]

A new Ministry of Agriculture and Food has been set up. Everything seems to be OK. They reassure us by saying everything will be fine, everything will be OK. [words indistinct] Yet the same old thing is happening now. There's no one to hold responsible.

[Aleksandrovaya] Nonetheless the work is under way. The kolkhoz is getting 30 quintals of grain crops on average. That's a little more than last year. That shows the peasant's character. Even when it is impossible to save the harvest. Will better times come along soon? Perhaps the new USSR presidential decree will ease the grain growers' lot.

Military Help With Harvest in North Caucasus

PM1608103091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Lieutenant General A. Chernyshev, chief of staff of the North Caucasus Military District, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Astashkin under the "Harvest-91" rubric; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Work, but Nothing To Pay for It With"]

[Text] Harvest work involving servicemen of the North Caucasus Military District is in full swing in the North Caucasus. How has the field work been organized? How much produce has been transported? Lieutenant General A. Chernyshev, chief of staff of the North Caucasus Military District, answers these and other questions put by our correspondent.

[Chernyshev] Our district has formed three motor transport battalions, two of them are operating in Stavropol Kray, the other in Astrakhan Oblast. Since work began servicemen have transported over 125,000 tonnes of different agricultural produce, more than 75,000 tonnes of it being grain. The battalion commanded by Colonel V. Dubas should be noted. There they have been able to so organize the work that neither people nor equipment stand idle to no purpose. That is not an easy situation to achieve.

[Astashkin] Anatoliy Kupriyanovich, what difficulties are arising during the harvest work?

[Chernyshev] The battalions have been working for a month. The plan has been met to the tune of 109 percent. But owing to the lack of monetary resources in kolkhoz and sovkhoz accounts, local leaders have been unable to pay on time for the cost of the loads transported. As a result people who have successfully carried out work are unable to receive not just monetary remuneration, but even a subsistence allowance for their labor. The district command has decided to provide help in transferring the requisite monetary resources to the motor transport battalions until the kolkhozes and sovkhozes pay these sums.

[Astashkin] As you know, a motor transport battalion, which is arriving from the Black Sea Fleet, has been assigned to harvest work at the request of the leadership of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. This battalion has to be brought up to strength with personnel from the North Caucasus Military District. What difficulties arise in this regard?

[Chernyshev] The basic difficulty lies in the draft of persons subject to military service. The problem is that the leadership of certain krays and oblasts has made the decision not to send conscripts outside their own regions. And it is very difficult for a republic to bring battalions up to strength on its own. Other regions therefore have to be involved.

[Astashkin] And my final question: Will the North Caucasus Military District servicemen involved in harvesting cope with the tasks they have been set?

[Chernyshev] Certainly. People appreciate that the country is now in a fix. Not just every tonne, but every kilo of grain counts. That is why the North Caucasus servicemen are giving their all.

Military Harvesting Help 'Poorly Utilized'

LD1708062191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here is another report about the harvest. Thousands of helpers, and a large amount of equipment, are sent to take part in the harvesting every year in this country. This is confirmed by a report from the Ministry of Defense press center. Sixty-two vehicle battalions are currently working on the country's fields. Another 18 are on the way, as the phrase goes, to locations where large-scale harvesting is in progress.

But the help from the military drivers is poorly utilized. Only today, owing to the absence of cargo, 804 vehicles out of 1,500 stood idle in Voronezh Oblast. In Krasnoyarsk Kray, 664 vehicles stood idle, also out of 1,500. And in Orenburg Oblast, one fifth of the 3,500 had nothing to do. The newsroom has not received any information yet about how long this is going to last.

Torrential Rains Damage Crops in Ternopol Oblast

PM1608134391 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by G. Ilchenko and Zayats, identified by caption]

[Text] [Ilchenko] The combine harvesters are standing idle, yet this is the peak of the grain harvesting campaign. Even the old residents of villages in [Ternopol Oblast's] Podvolochisskiy Rayon cannot recall anything like it. But it is not the local grain growers who are to blame. This is the first time in their lives that they have seen the mighty equipment standing idle. We can only imagine the anguish of machine operators and agronomists who have put in so much hard work and devoted so many sleepless nights to their main task—caring for the grain. And the grain is perishing before their very eyes, sprouting at the root. For the last three weeks these fields have been beset by bad weather. Thunder squalls accompanied by torrential rain and whirlwinds have lodged the grain, flattened the stems, and spoilt the ears. Only one kolkhoz in Podvolochisskiy Rayon has somehow managed to get the peas in [ubrat gorokh].

Whereas by this time crop farmers have usually already finished threshing a good half of the fields, this year, as you can see, the grain fields are quite inaccessible. Even the barley, which is usually stable in bad weather, has not only sprouted at the root but has also sprouted at the ear. As Nikolay Grigoryevich Razgon, head of the rayon agricultural directorate, said, nothing like this has happened here in the last 30 years. This summer—in July and early August alone—the normal monthly precipitation fell here every day. To sum up specialists' figures, more than the annual norm has fallen on the grain fields during the harvest campaign. Regrettably, as you can see, moisture is not always something to be thankful about. Yet a good harvest was expected here—the kolkhoz fields promised to yield up to 50 quintals of wheat per hectare. Nonetheless the crop farmers are still not losing heart. They are ready to go into the fields at the first sign of the sun and to rescue two-thirds of the harvest from the elements.

Flood Damage to Homes, Crops in Khabarovsk Kray

PM1608101491 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Aug 91

[From the "Far East" program: Report by L. Nasonova and K. Korablin, identified by caption]

[Text] [Nasonova] When a major disaster strikes, the losses incurred by the state, enterprises, agriculture, the transport system, and so forth are usually totted up. But who's ever calculated just how much a flood can cost each individual family? I don't know whose house this is—it's covered up to the roof in water. Nor do I know how long it took to build or how much was spent on it and on the adjoining truck-garden plot. But I know for sure that a lot of money and effort must have gone into it. At the moment we're basically watching a lot of things die before our very eyes. Take these truck gardens—you can barely see the heads of the sunflowers. People probably devoted a great deal of attention to them too. Compost and fertilizers would have been used on them, but now it's all under water. The muddy flood waters are now carrying away what remains of the harvest. Somewhere under the water are orchards of currants, gooseberries, and raspberries. And by no means all the orchard owners managed to pick and store them in their attics before the floods hit. Actually, they didn't even have a chance to try. After all, they were primarily saving the vegetables and potatoes so as to have at least some food for the winter. Will these people be compensated for their loss? I put that question to the kray's State Insurance Administration. Their answer was that only those people who had previously taken out insurance on their truck-garden buildings—houses, sheds, bathhouses, and so forth—would be compensated. For the time being we in Khabarovsk Kray won't be getting any compensation for the flooded orchards. A new USSR Cabinet of Ministers resolution is currently being introduced on unified nationwide principles for payment for land. Maybe something will change then. And maybe then the flood-stricken orchard owners will get at least some compensation for the damage done to their small plots. Not much of a comfort, perhaps, but better than nothing...

[Announcer] According to the latest figures from the kray emergency commission, the amount of damage caused by the Khabarovsk Kray floods has now passed the 80-million-ruble mark.

Commission Chairman Interviewed on Harvest

LD1708060291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Interview with Mikhail Lukich Timoshishin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission on Food and Procurements, by correspondent Valeriy Golubev, place and date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The problem of deliveries of grain to the state has been taking up more and more space in news reports from the fields recently. To date, of the more than 100 million tonnes of the new harvest's threshed grain, approximately one fifth has been put into state stocks. Our correspondent has met Mikhail Lukich Timoshishin, Chairman of the Committee for the Procurement of Food Resources:

[Golubev] The Soviet and foreign press have recently been hyping rumors that grain procurement in the country is being sabotaged by party committees and Communist heads of collective and state farms. My own view is that this is simply absurd, but I don't know: perhaps you have your own view of this, Mikhail Lukich?

[Timoshishin] Surely Communists work in Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, and in Rostov oblast and Belorussia? In these places the buying-in of grain for state stocks is proceeding at a rapid pace, and the task being set today is not only to meet the set targets, but to overfulfill grain sales over and above the set targets.

[Golubev] But it seems to me, Mikhail Lukich, that the point at issue is equivalent exchange. In other words, the peasants are hanging on to the breadgrain only because they hope to sell it on a somehow more equivalent basis, and get resources and consumer goods in return. You're the expert here, as it were, I think. Government decisions have been issued on this score.

[Timoshishin] Yes. I think that we're not the only experts here. All levels of local, republican, rayon, and oblast authority are the experts. Today the Union Government and the republican governments have done more than ever before to encourage grain procurement. Equipment, material resources, and consumer goods have been allocated.

[Golubev] And even hard currency!

[Timoshishin] And even hard currency. Today we simply need this to become a reality.

[Golubev] What's needed to make it a reality?

[Timoshishin] In order to make it a reality, we need, first, to ensure that the material resources are concentrated at depots, so that the rural workers can see these real resources and not the pieces of paper they are sometimes offered, with the resources themselves getting held up in administrative structures of various levels.

After all, it is an open secret that today, particularly in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, people can be heard complaining that the state has deceived us. But when you take a closer look, you find that in one oblast the chairman has decided to distribute the goods according to quite different criteria. In another oblast they will have been released for quite different requirements. So the peasant really does end up in last place. In order to change that, you need to change the actual structure of interrelations. These resources must be given to the peasants through the procurement bodies, which today have direct contact and conclude the contracts with them, and they must guarantee deliveries.

[Golubev] Mikhail Lukich, quite a serious situation has arisen in this country with sugar. What's going on?

[Timoshishin] We today have considerable shortfalls in raw sugar deliveries from Cuba. They amount to more than 1 million tonnes, and this has undoubtedly caused strains in supplies of sugar to the public in this country. Measures are now being taken. The despatch of raw sugar from Cuba has been stepped up. Refined sugar has been purchased, and it is already coming into the country. But I'd like to say here that we mustn't blame the Cuban side. We are at fault with regard to Cuba ourselves, because we failed to supply foodstuffs to Cuba. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan have recently failed to meet pledges under inter governmental agreements for the supply of canned milk, fats, vegetable oil, and other goods that Cuba needs today.

[Golubev] So the market is today based not on some sort of friendly factors, but on harsh economic obligations among the partners?

[Timoshishin] Quite so. And these requirements and these obligations will only get tougher.

Kursk Farm Union Threatens Cut in Deliveries

PM1608132391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Kulagin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Ultimatum from the Agro-Industrial Union"]

[Text] Kursk—The Kursk Agro-Industrial Union Presidium has warned the city authorities that agricultural produce deliveries to the oblast center will be halved if the city fails to dispatch urgently 300 machine operators to gather the harvest.

In a letter to the chairmen of the city soviet and city soviet executive committee, the Agro-Industrial Union leadership complains that due to the shortage of machine operators a number of oblast rayons have missed the best periods for gathering the harvest, grain losses are increasing, and work on plowing fallow land is dragging on, threatening to create shortages in next year's harvest too. A similar telegram was also sent to the Zheleznogorsk City Soviet, which is the second largest city in the oblast.

I telephoned Vladimir Gorokhov, chairman of the Oblast Association of Entrepreneurs and general director of the "Elektroagregat" Science-and-Production Association, and asked him to comment on the agrarians' letter.

"The Agro-Industrial Union is whipping up passions for no reason. The majority of our enterprises faithfully honor state orders and contracts for delivering machine-building goods to the countryside. Moreover, this year we have established direct links with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. For example, some need experienced welders or good fitters, not machine operators. Here we have full mutual understanding with the farmers. The Agro-Industrial Union's demand is a recurrence of the old oblast party committee orders."

It is not yet clear how the rivalry between the Agro-Industrial Union leadership and the city authorities will end. However, the city authorities intend to examine the Agro-Industrial Union's claims thoroughly.

Kazakh Farms' 'Extremely Difficult' Plight Cited

PM2208110591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by E. Matskevich: "No Smell of Hay Over the Meadows. Kazakh Farms in an Extremely Difficult Situation"]

[Excerpt] Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—Over the last few months the Kazakh countryside has accumulated a 3-billion-ruble [R] debt to the state. Even farms which were recently profitable are today up to their ears in debt. And the problem does not just lie in expensive imported feed.

"I begin and end the working day with one and the same concern: How to help the peasants out of this situation," V. Dvurechenskiy, republic minister of agriculture and food, said. "It is impossible to make ends meet. Indeed, it is no wonder when the delivery price for a kilogram of pork stands at R4.5 and that of mutton at R3.7, while an imported feed-harvesing combine which used to cost R17,000 is now approaching a quarter of a million, and Soviet-produced equipment has increased in price by a factor of 4-5... Not to mention the many other things without which the countryside cannot survive. As a result, outlays on the production of agricultural products will double, and we will owe the state at least R11 billion (whereas last year we made a R4 billion profit). For this reason we cannot even increase the wages of our machine operators and livestock breeders—there is no money to give them, and you know for yourself how expensive things are everywhere now. So we are losing staff. Today on the farmsteads alone there is a shortfall of 10,000 milkmaids and herdsmen."

The minister continues: "Recently, when addressing republic Supreme Soviet deputies, our guest—a member of the Korean parliament—told us how matters are run in his country. The state purchases produce at market prices from the producers and sells it to the population at preferential prices, making up the difference itself. How sensible! But they tell us: Make up the difference locally. What with? Local soviets do not have any money. It is a vicious circle..."

As for feed, I was told by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food that as of today less than half the required amount of hay has been laid in, and roughly the same proportion of cured hay has been procured. More silage is anticipated inasmuch as there was a good corn harvest. In a word, if we use all our forces and resourcefulness, we will be able to feed the economy's livestock in some meager fashion. [passage omitted]

Ukrainian Presidium Discusses Grain Procurement

PM1908125591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Nikolay Baklanov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "The Ukraine: Crisis with Grain Procurements"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium devoted a sitting to the situation with the state order for grain procurement and measures to ensure its fulfillment.

L. Kravchuk, head of the republic parliament, noted the unsatisfactory procurements of grain from early cereal crops. A mere 7.5 million tonnes were received by to state granaries by 12 August—which is 5.5 million tonnes less than last year. The state order is for 17 million tonnes. Over 21 million tonnes remain on farm threshing floors. Leaders of soviet and economic organs in several oblasts are displaying a parochial approach and are in fact holding up the formation of state grain resources, disregarding the fact that, in the conditions of transition to economic autonomy, the republic must ensure that it meets the population's needs for foodstuffs through its own production. Otherwise, L. Kravchuk noted, any talk of sovereignty and economic autonomy should be abandoned as being nothing by empty words. At the same time, the Ukraine can and must keep itself in grain.

The presidium adopted decisions aimed at effectively correctinbg the prevailing crisis situation with grain procurements, which may entail the forced introduction of bread coupons in the republic.

Scientific

Cosmos-2154 Launch Announced

LD2308094691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0901 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—Today it is officially being reported here that on Thursday another Soviet artificial earth satellite Cosmos-2154 was launched with a Cosmos launch vehicle.

It is intended to continue space research.

The satellite has been placed in orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution—104.9 minutes; apogee—1,021 km; perigee—991 km; orbital inclination—82.9 degrees.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

Progress M-9 Spacecraft Docks With Mir

LD2308024291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0120 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—The docking of the "Progress M-9" automatic spaceship and the "Mir" piloted complex took place on 23 August at 0354 Moscow time [0054 GMT].

'Resurs-F' Satellite Launched 21 August

LD2208201991 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—The Soviet Union on Wednesday launched a Resurs-F satellite.

The satellite carries equipment to make multi-scale multizonal and specterzonal photographing to continue research of natural resources for the benefit of various economic branches of the Soviet Union, as well as to solve ecological problems and develop international cooperation.

The satellite was brought into orbit by a Soyuz booster rocket with the following parameters:

—Initial orbital period - 88.8 minutes,

—maximum distance from Earth's surface (in the apogee) - 272 kilometers,

—minimal distance from Earth's surface (in the perigee) - 195 kilometers,

—orbital inclination - 82.3 degrees.

The equipment is working normally.

After the flight, the exposed film will be brought to the Soviet State Research Centre Priroda for development and distribution of information.

Project To Monitor Ozone Depletion Scheduled

Preview of Mission

PM1908133591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by A. Gerasimov and V. Pankratov, identified by caption]

[Text] There are less than 24 hours to go before the launch of the Tsiklon rocket which will put the Meteor-3 satellite in orbit. Our correspondent reports from the Plesetsk Space Center.

[Gerasimov] The slogan behind me—a quintessentially Soviet piece of propaganda—can now be read quite calmly by any foreigner. U.S. and Soviet space research specialists have pooled their efforts to provide a common defense against a common enemy. The gas in these aerosols is destroying the ozone layer of the earth's atmosphere. Scientists say that it'll only take another 30-40 years of not treating the ozone layer properly and we'll be in real trouble from the sun's ultraviolet light. So we have decided to protect ourselves. Political barriers have been swept away and two state organizations—our State Committee for Hydrometeorology and NASA—have completed work on a unique project. A device to monitor the overall ozone content of the atmosphere has been installed on the Soviet Meteor-3 satellite, which is to be launched tomorrow. This device was developed by the U.S. spaceflight center. The unusual alliance between Soviet rocket power and U.S. high technology is the first major joint project since the Soyuz-Apollo mission. Before the launch both sides have discovered that they can learn from each other. The NASA representatives admired our specialists' level of knowledge. And the very strict control over dust particles in the assembly and test building was new to the Plesetsk Space Center. No doubt it is this painstaking attention to detail that is the secret of the Americans' very high standards. Well, you live and learn! And this kind of lesson is another real benefit to be gained from cooperation. Still to come is the joint processing of the information on the ozone layer produced by the American device. Incidentally, the information our scientists will receive will be the Americans' only payment for the use of the Soviet satellite. Both sides will profit—although it's inappropriate to mention profit when we're talking about problems that concern the whole planet.

U.S. Officials At Launch

PM2208114991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by A. Gerasimov and V. Pankratov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] The Tsiklon booster rocket was launched today in the Soviet Union, putting the Meteor-3 satellite into orbit. Our correspondent reports from the Plesetsk Cosmodrome.

[Gerasimov] This is the first time that Americans have been admitted to the northern cosmodrome—thanks to the TOMS Meteor-3 joint project. While opening up to the whole world and engaging in cooperation—and not only in supplying raw materials—our state is also giving up totally unnecessary secrecy. We have already talked about the presence of military men at cosmodromes. Today, when the booster rocket was being brought out, the guests were given an honest warning about the dangers to people near the launchers. They eat up fuel. It's a bad joke. This is certainly one of the paradoxes of scientific progress. With one hand man does good works—here we have a joint program to save the earth's ozone layer—but with the other man poisons the land. This is an international problem. Suffice it to say that every shuttle launch destroys tens of millions of tonnes of ozone, whose disappearance will now be recorded by U.S. instruments aboard a USSR satellite. Why a Soviet satellite?

[S. Keller, NASA deputy administrator, in English with superimposed Russian translation; identified by caption] We had no available satellite to carry our instrument into the right orbit. The Soviets have helped us to do this.

[Ch. Kout (name as transliterated), project head, in English with superimposed Russian translation; identified by caption] The level of technology and the quality of the Soviet side's work fully met all our requirements.

[Gerasimov] This unexpected optimism is certainly one of the better reasons for bringing into being the idea of a global system for keeping an eye on the earth's ecology from space.

[V. Zakharov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, identified by caption] I don't believe in God but thank God it has ended like this.

[Gerasimov] So, Meteor-3 begins its work of safeguarding the ecology.

Ozone Monitor Launched

LD1508211691 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 15 Aug 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Khrustov]

[Text] August 15 TASS—A Soviet rocket blasted off Thursday carrying a U.S. satellite device on a joint mission to study the thinning ozone layer of earth's atmosphere.

The Cyclone rocket was launched from the Plisetsk cosmodrome carrying a Soviet Meteor-3 satellite equipped with the device.

"We have actually embarked on the conversion more than 30 years ago", General Mikhail Kalinkin, deputy chief of the main centre of space parts measuring complex, told TASS. He said that over these years, specialists of the centre prepared lights of 225 spacecraft for scientific and economic purposes. These were satellites of the "meteor", "resurs", and "okean" and other series providing information for 17 various ministries and departments.

"In other words, the Flight Control Centre prepares all space flights, except for manned flights", he said.

Meteor-3 satellites meant for distance probing of near earth space are included in the state meteorological space system and supply for the information received not only in the visible, but also infrared and ultraviolet ranges.

The satellite put into orbit on Thursday carries U.S.-built total ozone mapping spectrometer or TOMS. It will be used for measuring overall ozone content in the earth's atmosphere.

Meteor-3 (TOMS) project is meant for two years. The TASS correspondent learned this from Stanislav Samarski, deputy chief designer of the satellite, deputy technical director of the project. The project is being implemented by scientists from the Soviet central aerological observatory and the All-Union Institute of Electrical Engineering. Specialists from Nasa's Goddard Space Center participate in the project from the U.S. the main task is to continue monitoring the global ozone content by measuring its content in upper layers of the earth's atmosphere.

The device will be used to observe a large hole in ozone which usually appears over Antarctica late in August—early in October and is decreasing by mid-November. The joint Soviet-American programme will help implement provisions of the Vienna convention on the protection of the ozone layer.

Project Last Meteor Launch

PM1608134191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2111 GMT 15 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by R. Oganesov and V. Nikitin, identified by caption]

[Text] The Meteor-3 automatic spacecraft was launched from the Plesetsk Space Center today. It will be researching the earth's ozone layer. This marks the start of the largest Soviet-U.S. space project since the Soyuz-Apollo mission.

[Oganesov] The TSN film crew is here at the mission control center for scientific and national economic satellites—the first time journalists have been allowed in. This is the nerve center of the Soviet-U.S. Meteor-3/TOMS project. Hitherto the center had been top secret. Nobody knows why. Possibly because it is run by specialists drawn from the Defense Ministry Space Troops. Yet it deals with purely civil missions such as weather forecasting, ice monitoring, mineral prospecting, environmental monitoring, and an emergency early-warning service. Its information is used by 17 civilian ministries. According to specialists, the annual economic benefit from using spacecraft runs to almost 2 billion rubles [R], including R500-700 million from weather forecasting alone. Despite the obvious benefits, the state is cutting back on appropriations for space research, thereby doing irreparable damage to the development of world-class technology. And such technology is very thin on the ground in our country. Moreover, civilian ministries are suffering cutbacks too, and their space budgets are no exception. [Video shows general designer Yu.V. Trifonov, identified by caption]

[Trifonov] We're losing workers. We're losing specialists. Our associated plants have virtually stopped work already. This will be the last Meteor satellite to be launched. There's no funding for any more. It's hard to say what the future holds for the Weather Bureau and the forecasts you see on TV. When the finance minister received instructions from Comrade Doguzhiyev to find us some money, he replied: "Let them sell their information." Unbelievable! It's an insult—such information isn't sold anywhere in the world. It's a matter of principle that meteorological information is free of charge.

Cooperation With India in Space Research

LD1808121291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Soviet-Indian cooperation in space research is developing successfully. A Soviet rocket is to lift an Indian satellite on 29 August. The IRS-1B, to be orbited by a Vostok booster, is designed for remote sensing of the earth and the Indian Ocean. Soviet and Indian experts are currently preparing it for the blast-off from Baykonur cosmodrome.

Under a commercial agreement signed in Moscow at the beginning of the year, the Soviet Union is to launch two more Indian satellites in the next few years. The first, the IRS-1C, is to be a new generation earth and ocean resources probe based on the latest achievements in science and technology; it will be orbited in 1994. The other, the (Gramsat) communication satellite, will be blasted off later. [passage omitted]

Chelyabinsk Researchers on Decontamination

PM1608115791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by S. Sergeyev and S. Gordiyenko, identified by caption]

[Text] One of our fatherland's problems is that we, its citizens, know too little of what's going on there. I am above all referring to the fact that a great deal in our country was marked Top Secret. Time provides the answers to many questions—as is the case in Chelyabinsk. But you'll agree that sometimes delay is like a crime.

Everyone is probably aware that there is another reserve in Chelyabinsk Oblast in addition to the well-known Ilmenskiy [nature] reserve—a nuclear reserve.

[Sergeyev] The appearance of this unusual reserve—there are simply no others like it in the world—was preceded by a sad event that was hushed up for a long time. In 1957 there was an explosion at the "Mayak" chemical combine—a major defense enterprise producing plutonium weapons. The result was that a vast tract of land, 105 km long and 9 km wide, was contaminated with radioactive elements. Part of this nuclear trail—roughly 17,000 hectares—was assigned to the Vostochno-Uralsk State Reserve.

Entry and exit are strictly restricted. Only personnel from the "Mayak" chemical combine's experimental research station are allowed free access. The reserve represents a unique testing area for them, where they can study the effect of radioactive substances on the natural environment—plants, animals, insects, fish, birds. Their work focuses on seeking ways of decontaminating the contaminated soil and developing technology that will make it possible to bring back into cultivation the land once subjected to massive radionuclide attack.

[Candidate of Biological Sciences D.A. Spirin, identified by caption] The results of our work at the experimental base formed by the Vostochno-Uralsk State Reserve have been revealed—the basic principles governing the behavior of radionuclides in plants' soil system and subsequent components of the environment. Among other things, we have discovered the principles governing the behavior of strontium-90 as the main pollutant in agricultural crops' soil systems. Practical methods have been developed on this basis that will make it possible to carry out agricultural production in the midst of radioactive contamination. These methods will be applied on land taken out of cultivation following the accident. This represents an area of more than 100,000 hectares. Literally a few years after the accident this land is once again getting involved in the agricultural cycle. To date 82 percent of this land has been brought back into cultivation again, using these practical methods.

Sumgait Said To Dump Waste in Caspian

PM2208112391 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 0945 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Caspian—Common Concern" documentary]

[Text] [video begins with aerial shot of shoreline and city] [Reporter] Here's something even more graphic. Below us is the city of Sumgait. It is claimed that the sea is dead within a radius of 3-4 km of its shoreline. That's not just a figure of speech—there are indeed no living organisms to be found. And yet there is a fish-processing plant in Sumgait. No, it hasn't been closed, it's still operating. But its raw materials—fish—have to be brought in frozen from Astrakhan. Let's remember that the plant is located in a coastal city. Sumgait alone annually dumps 45 million cubic meters of effluent into the sea along with 260 [million] cubic meters of provisionally clean water. It's hard to say who dreamed up this crafty term. But just how provisional the cleanliness is can be gauged from the oil field's purification station. The purification technology is straightforward. The oil and water mixture builds up in these settlement tanks and the surface oil is skimmed off. What's left over is what they call provisionally clean water. Admittedly, the station is old and so is its equipment, which often breaks down. When this happens, informed sources told us confidentially, these gate valves are opened and both the oil and the provisionally clean water flow out into the Caspian. We've only told you this secret because we've seen for ourselves that it's long ceased to be any secret to the people who live hereabouts. Look at these settlement tanks—they can't even be called provisional. Fuel oil and other petroleum products are plainly visible in the water. But are they the only things poisoning life in the Caspian? [video ends with shot of sea surface taken from aircraft]

Military

Further on Military Role in Attempted Coup

Moiseyev Ordered Troops to Capital

LD2208212691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] IZVESTIYA reports today that the introduction of a troops division from the Moscow Military District into the capital was implemented in accordance with several coded telegrams received by the district's leadership from General Moiseyev. Evidently, disappointment in his friends still awaits Gorbachev.

Yazov Urged To Quit Committee

PM2208151591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 p 1

[By Andrey Krayniy: "Military-Provincial Chronicle"]

[Text] The conference with Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov began at 0600 hours 19 August. The minister spoke briefly, for approximately 10 minutes. His instructions to military district commanders boiled down to the following: The chief task is to ensure order and, depending on the situation, guards are being reinforced at military installations (meaning weapons dumps—conventional and nuclear). A separate instruction—do not let yourselves be provoked. The minister of defense concluded the conference with these words: You will learn the rest from radio reports.

It follows from this that the overwhelming majority of those attending the conference (essentially the entire military leadership) knew nothing.

But now over to those with whom I managed to speak 19 August.

Colonel General N. Kalinin, commander of Moscow Military District, appointed commandant of Moscow:

"Today several units of Moscow Garrison have been put on a state of combat readiness. They have advanced into the city with the single task of maintaining order, and there is no other task. Troops are loyal to the oath and are ready to serve the people and the homeland. I must point out that the people understand the measures that are being taken."

Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov, acting commander in chief of the Ground Forces while Army General V. Varennikov is away on business:

"I am now receiving reports from district commanders. It is reported from Siberia, the Transbaykal region, the Far East, Central Asia, and Azerbaijan that all is calm and no unlawful actions are being undertaken.

"The defense minister's report came as a surprise to me, but the troops are undoubtedly ready to perform the tasks assigned to them."

At 1100 hours on 20 August I spoke with Guards Captain Andrey Nevolin, chief of staff of a Tamanskaya Division battalion.

"Yes," Nevolin said, "we obey Gorbachev and the defense minister. But Gorbachev is not here, while the minister is on the spot, and so we naturally carry out his orders. It is complete gibberish to say that some Taman units have sided with Russia, for battalion commanders had an exchange by radio in the morning—all are in place. Nor do I believe the talk of defection by the Tulskaya Airborne Assault Forces Division. God forbid that the Army—the only working institution in the state—should also split apart. Then what: an exchange of artillery fire in the city? Who needs that?"

At 1200, 1300, and 1400 hours I failed to get through to Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov over the special line.

At 1000 hours on 21 August, I called Col. Gen. N.V. Kalinin, commandant of the city:

"We have already reported information on the curfew, and there is nothing more at present. A conference is taking place now (a Defense Ministry Collegium session was being held then and adopted the decision to return the troops to their places of permanent stationing—author's note), so call again at 1400 hours."

At 1500 hours, Col. Gen. N. Kalinin:

"I inform KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA first of all—the curfew has been lifted and troops are returning to their places of permanent stationing."

At 1735 hours the following report came from a leader of the Air Force:

"A conference was held in the Air Force this morning. The entire Air Force leadership was unanimous: We soldiers are obliged to carry out orders, but there is no place for tanks in the city. They must be pulled out, the barricades must be dismantled, and the confrontation must be replaced by a dialogue with the president and government of Russia. The following commanders in chief spoke at the collegium session with the minister: the Air Force (Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov), the Navy (Fleet Admiral Chernavin), and the Strategic Rocket Forces (Army General Maksimov). They called for troops to withdraw from the city. Addressing Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov, the commanders in chief urged him to resign from the committee for the state of emergency. The minister said literally the following in reply: I am not a little boy, and it is awkward for me—joining yesterday and quitting today. But, at the same time, the collegium adopted the decision to withdraw the troops from the city."

At 1830 hours, Army General Mikhail Alekseyevich Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff:

"The minister is alive and well and fulfilling his duties. He is away now."

(After a pause, with a heavy sigh):

"I got away on vacation to the Black Sea for the first time in six years, spent three days resting, and flew back. Tanks in the city? Who could have imagined that the Army would turn weapons on its own people! This is a disgrace. It is not a matter of my authority or that of some chiefs, it is a matter of the Army's honest name. The chief issue for me now is to defend officers and soldiers. They are guilty of nothing."

The chief of the General Staff is right. Both in Baku, where I was present from the first to the last day, and in Vilnius, which I saw, the Army was drawn into political games and then exposed to attack. This scenario seems to have been prepared this time too. Enough!

Military's Actions 'Did Not Go Beyond' Law

PM2308095191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Defense Ministry Collegium"]

[Text] In connection with the situation that has developed in the country and the various false rumors about the role of the top military leadership, the leading command-political personnel of the branches of the Armed Forces, the categories of troops, the troops of sectors, districts, and fleets, and groups of forces, the Ministry of Defense Collegium deems it necessary to declare the following:

1. The question of the inclusion of Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov in the State Committee for the State of Emergency was not considered by the Collegium. Moreover, members of the Collegium were not even informed of that decision.

2. The actions of the military-political leadership of the Army and Navy under the conditions of the state of emergency did not go beyond the USSR Law "On the Legal Regime of a State of Emergency." All measures were taken to ensure that subunits and units involved in guarding very important state establishments, communications, and installations ensuring the vital activity of the population and the national economy, as well as public order, did not commit actions complicating the sociopolitical situation. Personnel displayed understanding of the crucial nature of the moment, as well as restraint, and did not let themselves be drawn into confrontation with the people or the legitimate organs of power in the Union republics, krays, and oblasts. Understanding of the military's mission also imbued the attitude to it on the part of the overwhelming majority of the local population and official state structures. In the course of the troops' fulfillment of the set tasks of the state of emergency, there was no supplanting or abolition of the corresponding structures of state and local management.

3. The command-political cadres of the Army and Navy and of the troops involved in ensuring the state of emergency regime give no occasion for groundless accusations against them. They commanded subordinates, guided by the corresponding instructions and orders and by state principles in the leadership of the country's Armed Forces. Considerations of humanity and of preventing the troops' presence from being used to deepen political confrontation also dictated the decision adopted by the Defense Ministry Collegium at 0900 hours on 21 August on the systematic withdrawal of the troops involved in stabilizing the situation to their places of permanent stationing.

4. For the duration of the state of emergency the Armed Forces continued to fulfill the tasks facing them of the

reliable defense of the USSR's state borders, remaining loyal to the USSR Constitution, the president, and the oath.

5. At the present time the USSR Armed Forces are being commanded in a stable manner. The planned combat training is taking place in the districts, groups of forces, and fleets, and the tasks of combat duty and combat service are being fulfilled in a qualitative manner.

Draft Deferment Law for Students in Effect

PM2308080191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[USSR Defense Ministry Press Center report: "Students Not Being Drafted"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Defense is continuing to receive letters from people's deputies, citizens, and the student community on the question of the drafting of students for compulsory military service.

The USSR Law "On Compulsory Military Service," according to which students are granted draft deferment, is currently in force. The law is being complied with.

Shlyaga on MPD Coordinating Council's Tasks

PM2208150591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Coordinating Council Has Begun Work"]

[Text] A caucus [vneshtatnyy] coordinating council has been set up under the Main Military-Political Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces in accordance with an order of the USSR minister of defense. As regards its status, it is a deliberative organ for the collective examination of urgent problems of the political-moral condition of troop and naval force personnel, the formulation of recommendations, and the coordination of the practical activity of commanders, staffs, and military-political organs in the sphere of military-political work.

To a certain extent the Coordinating Council is the successor to the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Bureau, which ceased its activity in connection with the reform of political structures—a body which collectively examined the main areas of party political work and made a substantial contribution to increasing the influence of this work on all aspects of the life and training of the Armed Forces. However, the need to take account of collective opinion and to adopt concerted decisions when formulating new approaches to the organization of military-political work aimed at resolving the Armed Forces' vitally important political, social, domestic, legal, and other problems not only persists but has also become still more acute. So the creation of the Coordinating Council was dictated by life itself, by the complex sociopolitical situation prevailing both in the country and in the Army and Navy.

The council includes representatives from the Main Military-Political Directorate and General Staff of the Armed Forces, main and central directorates of the Ministry of Defense, branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops, law enforcement organs, and scientific research institutes, higher educational establishments, and military mass media. The secretary of the All-Army Party Committee, the chairman of the USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization Control Commission, and the chairman of the Federation of USSR Armed Forces Workers and Employees Trade Unions will participate in the Coordinating Council's work.

The first session of the Coordinating Council was held recently to discuss its tasks and the main areas, forms, and methods of its work. A report was delivered by Colonel General N. Shlyaga, chairman of the Coordinating Council, chief of the Main Military-Political Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces, and USSR first deputy defense minister.

He pointed out, in particular, that the creation of the council provides its members with a good opportunity, through a mutual exchange of opinions and a comparison of assessments and views, to seek and find the most acceptable solutions aimed at improving military-political work, formulating recommendations for commanders, staffs, and military-political organs, and ensuring the unity of their practical actions in all spheres of the troops' training and life.

The report thoroughly revealed some forms and methods of the council's work. This collective organ will conduct its basic activity by discussing at its sessions questions which require the pooling of efforts by both the central apparatus and by all troop components. Sessions will be held when necessary, but not less frequently than once a quarter. They will make an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of problems within the sphere of military-political work, prepare conclusions and proposals for a report to the USSR defense minister, and then monitor the fulfillment of decisions adopted on them. The Coordinating Council will put specific proposals to organs of military command and control relating to various aspects of their organizational, social-domestic, and legal activity and will assist in implementing what is planned. There will be preliminary discussions of draft guidline documents relating to military-political work.

The main speaker went on to dwell on the specific sectors which will be within the Coordinating Council's zone of attention. He particularly emphasized that the council has to lend proportion to the line of implementing the state's policy in the sphere of defense building, primarily through active political backup for resolving tasks of combat readiness and the training of troops and naval forces with special emphasis on qualitative parameters. It was pointed out, in particular, that a decreasing intensity of combat training is to be observed. The declining professionalism of certain officers, the fact that competition has been forgotten, and the mentality of irresponsibility and official apathy that is emerging in a section of military cadres were discussed with great alarm. It is perfectly obvious that what is needed here is well thoughtout, considered, and comprehensively coordinated decisions at all levels of military command and control structures, and a great deal here will depend on the council's businesslike stance.

The ideological education of personnel is one of the central tasks of military-political work. Its quality today leaves much to be desired. Much that is negative is being introduced in military collectives from civilian life, but our own problems also tell, the main speaker pointed out. These include a taste for ideological cliches and the poor use of organized forms of political training, technical means, and cultural-educational establishments. A considerable part of public institutions is inactive.

Problems of strengthening military discipline and law and order remain acute. The work forms and methods of many commanders, staffs, and military-political organs are not equal to the processes occurring in the Armed Forces. The cult of statistics and emphasis on tough command and control measures prevail instead of living educational work with people. A cardinal reassessment of the entire system of work on strengthening military discipline is needed. Obsolete forms and methods of influencing people, which do not yield positive results, must be resolutely abandoned. An increasingly warning nature must be imparted to all practical measures.

The social and legal protection of servicemen and their family members has been made a special sphere of military-political work. This means that it is necessary to strictly implement the principle of social justice, champion the rights of the individual, and protect people against lawlessness.

The Coordinating Council has to prepare well-founded proposals for the USSR defense minister and recommendations for the troops in the sphere of social policy and, most importantly, ensure that these proposals and recommendations are realized in practice. It is faced with the task of helping districts, fleets, and military command and control organs in the provinces to organize efficient, concerted work jointly with representatives of the state power.

Owing to the economic instability in the country, problems of material support for the troops' life and activity have been sharply complicated. The Coordinating Council is called upon to formulate measures in conformity with the real situation. To promptly orient commanders, staffs, military-political organs, and material-technical supply organs to new approaches, forms, and methods which would guarantee the development of the social sphere.

No less urgent for the council is the task of coordinating the activities of organs of military command and control with various sociopolitical organizations and movements and cooperating closely with those of them whose activity is geared to strengthening the state system and to unity between the Army and the people.

Comrades V. Arapov, S. Arzhavkin, G. Benov, N. Kovalenko, I. Larin, and V. Panin shared their opinions on the organization of the council's work, the planning of its activity, and questions which require priority examination.

Working groups with regard to specific areas of activity were formed at the session of the Coordinating Council. The work plan for the immediate future was examined.

Estonia

Government Takes Action Against Coup Supporters

LD2208155891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Another meeting of the Republic of Estonia Government took place today at Toompea, chaired by government leader Edgar Savisaar. Issues discussed were those arising from the failure of the criminal coup attempt that took place in the USSR and from the adoption of the independence resolution by the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council.

The government decided to set up a government commission that is to determine what participation parties, organizations, local governments, and officials in the criminal coup attempt. The commission will consist of Raivo Vare, Jaak Tamm, Ando Leps, Juri Kaljuvee [district elder in west Virumaa], Juri Kasesalu, Toomas Puura, Hardo Aasmae [mayor of Tallinn], and Matti Pedak [government councillor]. On the basis of the commission's report, the government will adopt a resolution on 26 August. [passage omitted]

The government dismissed in its directive the following people for actively supporting the coup attempt: Vladimir Yarovoy, director of the Dvigatel union factory; Igor Shepelevich, director of the Poogelmann factory; and Roman Lukoshkin, director of Tallinn commercial port. USSR ministries will be informed of the resolution to this effect.

The government has decided to request from the USSR president and the security committee that commanders of those military units stationed on the territory of the Republic of Estonia that were active in carrying out the criminal coup attempt are removed and brought to bear responsibility.

Taking into account the fact that several leaders of bodies of authority and other officials in northeastern Estonia [a predominantly Russian area] expressed support for the attempted coup in both word and deed, a representative with special powers from the government has to be sent to the area to ensure order and stabilitity there. [Minister of Transport] Tiit Vahi was appointed the government's representative in northeast Estonia.

The Republic of Estonia Ministry of Internal Affairs was charged with the task of closing the Nadezhda radio station, whose activity is in conflict with Republic of Estonia laws.

It was decided to request that the Procurator's office bring prompt criminal action against those who actively supported the plot and acted in the name of its implementation.

The government decided to send a note to the USSR Government in connection with the participation in the coup attempt of a string of military units stationed in Estonia and the [Estonian] KGB. The government declares that the existence up to now of the KGB and the army on the territory of the Republic of Estonia is irreconcilable with the new status of the Republic of Estonia as a state. The government session planned specific political and legal steps to implement the resolution on Estonian independence as a state issued by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia.

The government also requests a meeting with the USSR Government and its leadership to resolve both urgent and long-term issues. The chairman of the Estonian Government will meet the lawful leader of the USSR Government on 26 August to discuss these issues.

Tallinn Council Urges Dismissal of Collaborators

LD2208160191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Appeal issued by the Board of Tallinn City Council to the Estonian Supreme Council in Tallinn on 22 August—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed Supreme Council deputies! In the present tense political situation, we consider urgent decisions on the following to be extremely necessary:

First: Immediately dismiss all leaders of local governments and other officials who collaborated with the putschists or who supported the military coup in public.

Second: Proceeding from the treaty between the Republic of Estonia and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] signed in January 1991, put an end to the activity of the Inter-Movement and the United Council of Work Collectives which supported the bloody coup in words and deeds; and bring the leadership of these organizations to bear responsibility according to the procedures envisaged by law. At the same time, we consider it necessary to consider seriously handing over to the RSFSR the putschists who do not belong among the citizens of the Republic of Estonia.

Third: Request that the USSR Foreign Ministry close the Nadezhda radio station which is located on the territory of a USSR Army unit in Keila. During the entire coup, and even when the putsch had failed, it kept making criminal appeals against the lawful bodies of power of the Republic of Estonia, the RSFSR, and the USSR. [Signed] Andres Kork, chairman of Tallinn City Council, 22 August 1991.

Ruutel Leaves To Meet With Yeltsin, Yakovlev

LD2308101191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] This afternoon Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council, left for Moscow on a working visit. He will meet with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and will discuss the present political situation and bilateral relations with him. Arnold Ruutel also intends to meet with Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of the leaders of the Movement for Democratic Reforms.

Ruutel Congratulates Yeltsin, Welcomes Gorbachev

LD2208115891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, has sent a letter to Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president, in which he expresses his utmost respect for Yeltsin's personal bravery, and for the struggle of Russian democratic forces to defend the ideals of democracy and freedom. Arnold Ruutel expresses his condolences in connection with the victims that the struggle against the criminal actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency demanded from the Russian people. Arnold Ruutel expresses his condolences to the relatives of the dead.

Arnold Ruutel thanks him for the fact that the RSFSR Government has recognized the state independence of the Republic of Estonia. He expresses his conviction that the joint struggle of Estonian and Russian people for freedom and democracy during these difficult days has become an important contribution to building a firm foundation in the relations of cooperation and friendship between Estonia and Russia.

Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, has also sent a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR president. He ardently welcomes Gorbachev's return and his resumption of duties as president. The letter notes that the people, the Supreme Council, and the Government of Estonia did not follow the demands of the criminal clique, and showed resistance from start to finish, demanding that an end be put to the violence and that lawful power be restored in the USSR.

The letter expresses hope that in the near, future full talks between authorized delegations will start, to regulate the interstate relations between the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union.

Further Reaction to Independence Declaration

Ruutel, Others Give Support

LD2208233991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Commenting on the resolution of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council on Estonia's independence as a state, Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Council, said the following to the Estonian news agency ETA: The document adopted by the Estonian Supreme Council on Tuesday [20 August] is very important. If so far we have not been talking about the Republic of Estonia being recognized as it stands orabout developing a new structure for the state, then in this document we are already doing so. The subsequent legislative activity will be completely specific because we will be creating a real system of law for the Republic of Estonia, said Arnold Ruutel.

He also noted that he personally had never been aware of a split between the Estonian Committee and the Estonian Supreme Council. There have been real differences of opinion flowing from the political situation, and this political situation has been influenced from the side by Moscow. One representative body has been able to influence the political process with one set of means and the other with another, says Arnold Ruutel.

Tunne Kelam, chairman of the Estonian Committee, said that a constitutional assembly is a simpler and more practical working arrangement than a reestablishing assembly aimed at uniting the best forces of representative bodies. According to what Tunne Kelam said, it is easier to establish a constitutional assembly. All this requires is assurances from the Estonian Congress to its deputies, but according to Mr. Kelam, that would not be hard to achieve. In that case, this assembly could start immediate work to prepare for elections which are in accordance with the Estonian constitution, Tunne Kelam added.

Marju Lauristin, deputy speaker of the Supreme Council, noted that the resolution adopted means that we have taken a decisive step across the line that separated us from the restoration of actual independence as a state, because up until now, we have been talking about preserving the Estonian statehood de jure; now we say that we have restored it de facto, and turn to the world states to restore their recognition. Together with this, we have fixed the subsequent steps in domestic policy; these are based on an agreement achieved today between pro-Estonian forces, namely about establishing a constitutional assembly. Now the most important task is to start drawing up a draft constitution, said Marju Lauristin.

According to Indrek Toome, head of the Foreign Commission at the Supreme Council, we have not ended our transition period. Instead we have in essence adopted a resolution which sets down how—starting from today—we will start winding up the transition period. The transition period will end in elections for a new parliament, said the chairman of the Foreign Commission.

IZVESTIYA Reports

PM2208125191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[L. Levitskiy report under the general heading "These Alarming Days"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian parliament proclaimed the republic's independence late last night.

The parliamentary resolution is entitled "On State Independence." Its principal paragraph is worded thus: "To confirm the state independence of the Estonian Republic." The resolution makes provision for the preparation of a new Estonian constitution and for elections to parliament based on it in 1992.

Some 69 out of 105 deputies voted for this resolution. Deputies from the four factions representing the Russian-speaking population refused to participate in the voting. It was reported at the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium that Russia was the first to recognize Estonia. But it was added that the relevant documents are not yet to hand.

At the end of the day, paratroops occupied the television and radio broadcasting center in Tallinn. As the center's director Morozov told journalists, the military are conducting themselves properly and the equipment is quite intact.

According to the military, the suspension of the center's operations was prompted by the fact that the broadcasts were distorting the situation in the country and appeals not to observe the USSR Constitution and laws were going out.

Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Ruutel met with F. Melnichuk, deputy commander of the Baltic Military District. The lieutenant general stated the necessity to fulfill the resolutions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR—to observe the USSR Constitution and laws; not to hold meetings, rallies, and strikes; to disband illegal armed formations, and to remove barricades from the city streets.

A. Ruutel rejected these demands. In his words, the peaceful struggle to restore state independence will be continued...

City Leaders Critical

OW2208215791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of three city councils in North-Eastern Estonia, where the Majority of the population is Russian-speaking and favours the preservation of the USSR, issued a statement on 22nd August sharply criticizing the Estonian Parliament's decision of 20th August to declare the Republic of Estonia fully independent. The leaders of Narva, Mr. A. Chuikin, Sillamae, Mr. A. Maximenko, and Kohtla Jarve, Mr. A. Tsvinev assert that the declaration of Estonian independence puts a significant proportion of the population of North-Eastern Estonia into the category of "illegal immigrants".

The three city leaders criticize the government and parliament of the republic which "are doing nothing to improve the situation in the region". "The laws passed by the Supreme Council of Estonia infringe upon the civil rights of the non-native population", says the statement.

The document mentions the coming meetings of the Narva, Sillamae and Kohtla-Jarve City Councils to which the president of the Estonian Supreme Council, Arnold Ruutel, the prime minister, Edgar Savisaar, and members of parliament are invited.

Finland's Recognition Requested

LD2208174191 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1600 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Estonia has asked the Finnish Government to recognise Estonia's independence. The Estonian foreign minister, Lennart Meri, handed the request to Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen today. On the same occasion, he also handed over the declaration of independence approved by the Estonian Supreme Soviet on 20 August. Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri says that Estonia has sent a letter to 35 countries asking for the recognition of Estonia's independence. So far, Estonia's independence has been recognized by Lithuania, the Russian Federation, and Iceland.

Supreme Council Recognizes Latvian Independence

OW2208205591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 22nd the president of the Estonian Supreme Council signed a declaration establishing relations between the Republics of Estonia and Latvia. The declaration states that the Estonian Republic recognizes the Republic of Latvia as an international person and [word as received] expresses willingness to establish diplomatic relations.

Inter-Movement's 'Radio Hope' Closed Down

LD2308043191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2150 GMT 22 aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A special commission has been set up in Estonia to investigate the involvement of the party, organizations, and officials with the junta. Radio Hope, the mouthpiece of the Inter-Movement organization, and, I quote, conservatism and reaction in the Republic, has been closed.

Latvia

Communist Party Declared 'Anticonsitutional'

LD2308113791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 0928 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Resolution adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia in Riga on 23 August]

[Text] A resolution by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia on the anticonstitutional activity of the Communist Party of Latvia in the Republic of Latvia.

In 1940, the Latvian Communist Party, which had become part of the CPSU as one of its territorial units, established a monopoly by single-party rule and a system of totalitarian power in Latvia. It became the determining component of state power and rule. At the same time, the Communist Party was responsible for the genocide against the people of Latvia carried out under its leadership.

Using the advantages created by it, the Latvian Communist Party, for a period of many decades, took over property belonging to the people of Latvia. The Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party still keeps in its possession archive material which is a historical treasure, and evidence of the history of the Republic of Latvia and the whole people of Latvia. In the sixties, the Communist Party illegally took over the press and publishing houses of newspapers and magazines, and also the printing presses, and in this way enacted the dictatorship of one-party ideology. In January 1991, having violently seized the Press House, the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party for a long time paralyzed the publication of democratic newspapers and magazines.

The leadership of the Latvian Communist Party categorically rejects the Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia of 4 May 1991 on the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia. Collaborating with various military groupings, it came out increasingly firmly as an alternative organ of power. For over half a year already, the dominant aspects of its activity have been terror, provocations, and subversion, which have led to many human deaths and the destruction of great material treasures. The January 1991 events and the August coup d'etat have provided convincing proof that the most dangerous thing facing the Republic of Latvia and democracy was the Latvian Communist Party. The coup d'etat was an organized action by the reactionary leaders of the Latvian Communist Party against the Republic of Latvia and its lawful authorities. In this way, the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party became the consolidating and leading center of the antidemocratic forces whose aim was to destabilize the situation, to violate the process of (?developing) democracy, to overthrow the lawful authorities in Latvia, and to return to totalitarianism.

Considering the fact that the Latvian Communist Party by its former actions has put itself outside the law, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia resolves:

1. To recognize the activity of the Latvian Communist Party as anticonstitutional;

2. To hand over all property of the Latvian Communist Party to its legal owner, the people of Latvia, and to instruct the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia to take over the building of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, to use it for humanitarian aims; the Press House, to be used for printing newspapers and magazines published in Latvia; the Political Education Center of the Latvian Communist Party, to be handed over to the local authorities of the City of Riga to be used by youth organizations; the archives of the Sociopolitical Research Center of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, its contents to be handed over to the jurisdiction of the General Direction of the State Archives of the Republic of Latvia; and together with local authorities all other property of the Latvian Communist Party, the question of its further use to be decided;

3. To instruct the banking institutions located on the territory of the Republic of Latvia to cease payments of money from accounts held by the Latvian Communist Party and its structural subunits;

4. To instruct the Procuracy of the Republic of Latvia to institute criminal proceedings for the crimes committed by officials of the Latvian Communist Party;

5. Membership in the Latvian Communist Party is not grounds for restricting human rights, discrimination, or prosecution;

6. In accordance with the law of the Republic of Latvia on the press and other mass media, the minister of justice of the Republic of Latvia is to table proposals for examining in court the question of ending the activity of those mass media which in their publications called for non-obedience to the laws of the Republic of Latvia, and which supported the attempted coup d'etat;

7. The resolution comes into force from the time of its adoption.

TASS Report

LD2308122391 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga August 23 TASS—The Latvian parliament has decided the activities of the republic communist party are unconstitutional.

The parliament decided to transfer all party property to its legal owner—the people of Latvia—and freeze bank accounts of the communist party and its structural divisions.

The parliament instructed the republican prosecutor's office to institute criminal proceedings against Latvian Communist Party officials.

The Latvian parliament's resolution on unconstitutional activities of the Latvian Communist Party in the republic, adopted today, reads "the coup was an action organised by reactionary leaders of the Latvian Communist Party against the Latvian Republic and its legal power".

"The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee was a consolidating and leading centre of anti-democratic forces, aiming to destabilise the situation, violate the process of independence and democracy, overthrow legal power in Latvia and revive totalitarianism," the resolution reads.

The resolution notes that Latvian Communist Party membership is not a ground for limiting human rights, discrimination and persecution.

Equality faction members in the parliament refused to take part in the vote on the resolution. According to some reports, the Latvian Communist Party building has been seized by republican Interior Ministry units.

Government To Remove Coup Supporters From Posts

OW2208213991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a closed meeting of the Latvian Government on 22nd August it was decided that all leaders who supported the coup d'etat in the USSR be removed from their posts.

Members of the Government of the Latvian Republic unanimously supported a resolution by Finance Minister Elmars Silins to freeze the bank accounts of those organisations that supported the leaders of the putsch, the Communist Party, the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) and the Internationalist Movement (Latvian Pro-Moscow grouping), until the Latian Supreme Council makes an official juridical evaluation of the actions of these organisations during the coup attempt.

Rubiks Denies Links With Emergency Committee

LD2208230991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1734 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Several republican press publication representatives were today invited to a news conference by Alfred Rubiks, CPSU Politburo member and Latvian Communist Patry Central Committee first secretary, during which he announced that the Latvian Communist Party has always turned against violence and has never strived to achieve introduction of a state of emergency in Latvia and dismissal of Gorbachev from the USSR president post. The Communist Party has not collaborated with the State of Emergency Committee, and he announced that it knew nothing of the Riga special purpose militia detachment actions and does not take any interest in them. The Latvian Communist Party will continue to implement its program, Rubiks said. It is ready for work under any circumstances, also illegally. The party does not intend to give up its property but is ready to conduct talks about a joint utilization of it. Rubiks highly assessed the firmness and resolve of Boris Yeltsin.

Latvian KGB Condemns Attempted Coup

OW2208172291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The personnel of the Latvian KGB were in their building and did not take part in the operations of the Soviet Army and the OMON, [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] Chairman of the Latvian KGB, Edmund Johanson, told the newspaper Diena.

He said that on August 19 the order to put the personnel in a state of enhanced combat readiness had arrived from Moscow. There were no other instructions, he said.

Commenting on the recent events in Moscow and Riga, Chairman of the Latvian KGB said: "somthing that must not happen in a civilized state has occurred. We condemn such a turn of events."

Supreme Council Debates Changes to Criminal Code

LD2208151791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1246 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 22 Aug (TASS)—Today the deputies of the Latvian Supreme Soviet urgently adopted a law on introducing amendments to the criminal and criminal procedure codes of the republic. From now on, activities "directed at the forcible overthrow of the state power of the Latvian Republic or any other forcible act damaging the Latvian Republic, its security, or its defense capability are punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term from 10 to 15 years, with confiscation of property." The articles envisaging criminal responsibility for espionage, subversion, sabotage, and calls for a forcible overthrow of state power or a forcible change in the state system of the Latvian Republic were also strengthened.

A parliamentary commission "For investigating the illegal attempt of the coup d'etat in Latvia in August 1991" has been formed at the sitting. The question of outlawing the Communist Party of Latvia is also on the agenda of the session.

Begins Investigation of Coup

OW2208165991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a briefing in the Latvian parliament, Latvia's procurator-general, Janis Krastins, informed the deputies of the preliminary investigation of the coup in Latvia.

He said that criminal investigation of the seizure and devastation of the TV and radio centres, and of other crimes committed in Lithuania, had been started.

Mr. Krastins said that an investigation group consisting of 34 officers of Latvia's Procurator's Office and of the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs had been set up.

Council Calls For Latvian Defense Forces

LD2208214591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Statement by the Coordinating Council of the Republic of Latvia issued in Riga on 22 August]

[Text] The main purpose of the general strike declared in Latvia (?was attained): to release the television, radio, and other establishments occupied by the USSR Armed Forces. A law has taken effect on the restoration of the full sovereign independence of the Republic of Latvia. The Coordinating Council has declared an end to the general political strike. However, the Council believes that the situation is still unstable, the organizers and supporters of the coup are at liberty, and the occupation of previously seized establishments has not ended.

It is necessary for the institutions of state power and administration in Latvia to categorically demand:

The immediate calling to account of the organizers and leaders of the coup; the continuation of work for the liberation of previously occupied establishments; the [word indistinct] of the activity of those Latvian deputies and public and political organizations that organized and took part in the implementation of the coup; and the [word indistinct] the question of the economic losses incurred to the account of these organizations. The procuracy of the Republic of Latvia will bring to account all those persons who by their activity during the circumstances of the general strike hampered the resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia in connection with the anticipated fulfillment of the actions of the USSR Armed Forces in the Republic of Latvia;

To immediately form competent defense forces of the Republic of Latvia.

The Coordinating Council of the Republic of Latvia, (?working) during the conditions of the general strike, thanks all the residents of the Republic of Latvia, who by their unity and civic attitude did not allow the coup to be realized.

The Strike Coordinating Council will continue its activity until the full elimination of the (?conditions) arising from the coup.

Ivans Says Situation 'Still Fairly Grave'

OW2208155991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, Dainis Ivans, has told our correspondent that the situation in the republic has changed for the better, but is still fairly grave.

He said that the leader of the local putschists, General Kuzmin, commander-in-chief of the Baltic Military District, had ordered the withdrawal of troops from Riga in conformity with the decision of the legitimate authorities. "But the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Unit] terrorist gang in Riga is still uncontrolled," he said. He emphasised that yesterday the Riga OMON branch attempted to seize the building of the Latvian parliament.

Ivans believes that the Riga branch of OMON causes the greatest problems. It was for this reason that the Latvian Government asked General Kuzmin to blockade the base of the branch, but the general refused.

Ivans said that police forces from all parts of Latvia were presently arriving in Riga in order to reinforce the defence of the parliament builing. The Prosecutor General's Office of Latvia will shortly institute criminal proceedings against particular members of the Riga branch of OMON amongst others.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of Latvia has called upon them to give themselves up, thus guaranteeing themselves a more lenient hearing.

Apart from that, the Riga OMON branch will soon be presented with an ultimatum demanding that its members hand in their weapons by a certain date.

Ivans described the OMON problem as a very complicated one, for "they are people who have nothing to lose and are ready to kill hundreds of people."

According to Ivans, the Communist Party of Latvia will soon be banned. Its leaders will be prosecuted as political criminals. The whereabouts of the first secretary of the party's Central Committee, Alfreds Rubiks, are still unknown, but there have been unconfirmed reports that he has left for Moscow.

The Equality parliamentary group, which supported the putschists, may also be prosecuted.

Ivans has also said that Anatolijs Gorbunovs is going to speak to Mikhail Gorbachev later today on the forming of institutes ensuring the sovereignty of Latvia.

Officials Meet Baltic Military District Commander

LD2208203691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1734 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] At the invitation of the leaders of the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, Fedor Kuzmin supreme commander of the Baltic Military District, came to the Supreme Council. The question of the security and functioning of the Supreme Council, the Council of Ministers, and other establishments of state importance was discussed.

The question of the possible activity of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] and its consequences in the republic is at present being discussed in

Moscow by Ilmars Bisers, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia.

Kuzmin stated that the Army does not control or support the OMON.

The supreme commander of the Baltic Military District was informed that in connection with the possible OMON actions against legal structures of power, extraordinary defense undertakings are being adopted to guard establishments of state importance with the participation of the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Latvia. The leadership of the Baltic Military District will not hamper implementation of these defense undertakings.

The question of returning the illegally confiscated weapons and other technical means to be at the disposal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Latvia was discussed. Kuzmin, however, for the time being—until the question is coordinated with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs—refused to comply with this. Ilmars Bisers, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, is also dealing with this in Moscow.

Agreement was reached that the Baltic Military District will not hamper or in any way influence the proceedings of the Flaming Baltic Road action of the masses of the people on the 23 of August. Agreement was also reached on the necessity for close and regular contacts between the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia and the leadership of the Baltic Military District.

Russia 'Ready To Recognize' Independence

LD2308085291 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0400 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Excerpt] You are certainly awaiting information about how this night has passed in Latvia. At the Public Security Department they told me that during the night, there had been many warning telephone calls which, thank God, were not confirmed. At the Ministry of Internal Affairs and at the Customs Department, they also reported that the night passed without extraordinary events.

And now the latest information at the disposal of the Supreme Council's press center.

Late in the evening yesterday, while in Copenhagen, the foreign minister of the Republic of Latvia, Janis Jurkans, telephoned Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The question of Russian recognition of the independence of the Republic of Latvia was discussed with Mr. Kozyrev. The Russian foreign minister replied convincingly that the Government of Russia is ready to recognize the independence of Latvia in the nearest future. The old economic, political, and social ties connecting both these states have to be taken into account, of course. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Prime Minister Requests U.S. Recognition, Ties

LD2208165691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1150 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius has sent a telegram to President George Bush.

It reads:

Highly Esteemed Mr. President:

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania, along with other democratic governments, has received with great joy the victory of the democratic forces in Russia and the Soviet Union. The victory is ours also, permitting the only legitimate government of the Republic of Lithuania to fully carry out state administration functions throughout our entire state.

We have also received, with great pleasure, the urging of the Russian Federation foreign minister for Western States to recognize the legitimate governments of the Baltic states.

You are also aware of the fact that the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, on 20 August 1991, ratified the Lithuanian-Russian Federation Treaty concerning the principles of interstate relations, in the first paragraph of which Russia recognizes the independence of the Republic of Lithuania.

Permit me, esteemed Mr. President, to thank the United States of America on behalf of the Republic of Lithuania for the continuous policy exercised by your country of nonrecognition of the Lithuanian Republic's occupation and annexation, and to express the hope that your government will now take the next step toward the recognition of the Republic of Lithuania and the restoration of full diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the Republic of Lithuania.

I also wish to express my thanks to you for your letter of 13 August in which you expressed your concern over the use of force against the citizens and officials of the Republic of Lithuania.

I am also very grateful to you, esteemed Mr. President, for your personal initiative in sending a United States military surgeon who performed surgery on the only living witness of the Medininkai massacre.

I wish to take this opportunity to express to you, esteemed Mr. President, my deep respect.

Signed: Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius.

Supreme Council 'Outlaws' Communist Party

OW2308092691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0905 GMT 23 Aug 91

["Express News"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent reports from Vilnius that Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP] functionaries and the military left the building of the party's Central Committee in Vilnius at 6:00 on Friday.

At its evening session on Thursday Lithuania's parliament outlawed the republic's Communist Party.

The relevant resolution says that on August 19 the LCP acting in the framework of the CPSU complied with the directives of the conspirators and later persisted in its undemocratic activity in Lithuania. Besides, back in January this year it joined the attempts to stage a coup d'etat in Lithuania. "Its activity conflicts with the Lithuanian constitution and with the norms of international law."

Under the resolution all property of the LCP/CPSU will be owned by the Republic of Lithuania.

Council Decision Detailed

LD2308085891

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 23 August carries a two-minute report on the text of the decision adopted by the extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council yesterday.

The decision to ban the activity of the Lithuanian branch of the CPSU in the Republic of Lithuania reads in parts: "The Lithuanian CPSU branch in Lithuania organized and incited the actions of 13 January 1991, which were aimed at overthrowing the lawful government of Lithuania by means of coercion to destroy the independence of the Republic of Lithuania, its sovereign statehood, and its territorial integrity. On the 19 August, the Communist Party carried out the directives of the organizers of the coup in Lithuania."

The document adds that actions such as these run counter to the basic law of the Republic of Lithuania, are criminal under the laws of the republic, and "are incompatible with the norms of international law". Therefore, the document says, it is necessary "to acknowledge that the illegal activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party-CPSU, in Lithuania is continuing and to ban the activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party-CPSU on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania."

Police Take Over Headquarters

LD2308082291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] A report has just come in that at 0600 this morning, the guarding of the buildings of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party-CPSU was taken over by the Lithuanian police.

Troops Evacuate Party Leaders

AU2308095491 Paris AFP in English 0914 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 23 (AFP) — Leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party were evacuated from the party headquarters Friday [23 August] in Soviet armoured vehicles and placed under Army protection in Vilnius, local journalists reported.

Lithuanian police surrounded the building after the breakway republic's parliament declared the party illegal and the party headquarters was now under control of the Lithuanian Government, the journalists said.

Four Soviet Army armoured personnel carriers arrived at the building. Two entered the courtyard and evacuated the party leaders to Army headquarters, the journalists said.

Lithuanian law makers have also approved measures under which legal action will be taken against persons who supported the regime which attempted to oust Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Members of a special commission dispatched to take possession of the headquarters building said party officials were burning documents when they arrived.

The parliament has also declared that all "repressive bodies," notably the KGB, must quit Lithuanian territory and that their possessions would be confiscated by the republic's government.

The Lithuanian prosecutor-general has been ordered to open an investigation into "anti-Lithuanian activities" that have been taking place since the republic declared its independence from Moscow in March 1990.

Supreme Council Session Held 22 Aug

Vagnorius Speaks

LD2208234191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius has said while speaking in the Lithuanian parliament that the Moscow putschist forces were supported in one way or another in three areas of Lithuania—namely Salcininkai, the Vilnius region, and the town of Snieckus; all of these places with a majority population of non- Lithuanians. However, the rendered support was minimal and it would be unwise to punish the local authorities.

Mr. Vagnorius also described the present relationship between the Lithuanian Government and the Soviet special interior unit OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]. The Black Berets have resorted to complete self-isolation and are not responding to either telephone or radio calls.

The Lithuanian Government has received unconfirmed information that the Vilnius and Riga Black Berets are planning to retreat to the woods. Mr. Vagnorius himself is in constant touch with the leadership of the Soviet garrison stationed in Vilnius and he asked the military to protect the people of Lithuania from possible attacks by the Black Berets. The military promised to keep watch on their activity. Still, Gediminas Vagnorius noted that there are no guarantees for protection.

Landsbergis Addresses Session

LD2208222491

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 0930 GMT on 22 August carries a 15-minute recorded "excerpt" of an address by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at the Supreme Council session in Vilnius on 22 August.

Landsbergis begins by discussing his 21 August meeting with Colonel Mironenko on the occupation of the Lithuanian radio and television buildings, saying: "I made demands on control of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], a way to block the OMON so that under no circumstances would they move about the city. I obtained, after all, certain promises from the OMON unit commander. However, the OMON members did move about the city during the night. This means that either Mironenko is not in control and is not taken into account or Makutinovicius is not in control of the situation there or else he is not totally true to his promises since Makutinovicius gave such promises last night. He gave them to Liubertas, and he listened to my position concerning the future of the men under him."

Landsbergis repeats that he holds the commander responsible and that the OMON should be prevented from continuing their dangerous activities. Landsbergis alludes to the 21 August attack near the Supreme Council building, noting this is connected to the question of responsibility. He says: "Translated into international language, that constitutes a lie. It is there continuously, of course." He explains that this is part of the nature of the forces' game, pointing out that the special unit carried out the attack and that it led to the death of a Lithuanian "defender." Landsbergis stresses: "This special designation unit must be disarmed today, and Mironenko has agreed to this type of demand, and he will take it upon himself to accomplish this. The formula for the OMON is very simple. I told Mironenko either the OMON comes with repentance and disarms and the questions of personal responsibility are resolved separately or it accomplishes this under Mironenko's responsibility so that he can tell them that clearly, for this situation cannot continue. It could come to pass that, especially in Moscow or perhaps elsewhere, forces may arise that would like to prolong the resolution of these questions and would wish to bog down again into some perestroyka that existed prior to the putch or into matters that become subjects for negotiation. Currently, a new situation exists, a new equation, and it must be resolved quickly and radically."

Landsbergis notes that he told Mironenko that the state commission members and radio and television staff members should have been allowed to enter the occupied premises yesterday so that they could fix and repair things and guard against the rest being destroyed or taken away and so that "no other stains would fall upon the Soviet soldiers."

Landsbergis says: "I think that our policy must be very specific. This failure of the putsch should not be a return to the preputsch situation." He adds that they should not fall into a false or semi-perestroyka, noting that care should be taken so that the ongoing democratic process would not sway toward the stagnator's direction and so that this process would not be replaced by a somewhat lesser stagnation. He notes that "a strong pull back is active all the time."

At 0942 GMT, Landsbergis notes that Lithuanians must be decisive and dignified. "I would phrase it this way," he says, "we should adhere to these because the putch will yet continue in Lithuania, until all the seized buildings have been returned, because it was in Lithuania that the putsch began in January. Yes, what they envision is a putsch on a union scale, but they started with Lithuania. Moreover, viewing the question in this light, we have the liquidation of the putsch as taking charge of the buildings at the very least."

At 0945 GMT, Landsbergis concludes: "If that putsch is not fully liquidated, it will mean that it is continuing again in its own characteristic fashion. Thus, the danger will not be removed either from us or the others."

Vilnius Reports Vagnorius Message to Gorbachev

LD2208174591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius has sent a congratulatory telegram to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. The telegram expresses sincere satisfaction over Mikhail Gorbachev's return to the presidential post. The telegram states: The attempt to bring about a state coup in the Soviet Union gave us cause for great concern, since a real threat had arisen to the democratic processes within the Soviet Union. We trust that the victory of the progressive forces and your personal position will help to normalize the relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union and hasten constructive interstate negotiations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania.

Vagnorius Congratulates Estonia, Latvia

LD2208221691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Prime Minister Vagnorius has sent a congratulatory telegram to the government of the Republic of Estonia and its prime minister, Edgar Savisaar, in which he, together with the people of the Lithuanian Republic, congratulate the Government of the Republic of Estonia, the Estonian nation and all the people of Estonia, for having announced to the world: Estonia is an independent nation. [Passage omitted]

The Prime Minister of Lithuania, Gediminas has also sent a telegram to Ivars Godmanis, Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia,

The government of the Republic of Lithuania, along with the Lithuanian people, congratulates the Government of the Latvian Republic, the Latvian nation and all the people of Latvia, who have returned to their state the name of independence. [passage omitted]

Pickets Demand End to KGB 'Bolshevik Violence'

LD2208171491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] The Sajudis-organized picket outside KGB Headquarters in Vilnius was renewed today.

From early morning, inscriptions and banners appeared on trees in Lukiskes Square, and on the concrete in front of the KGB building on Gediminas Prospect, with the categorical demand that the organization of Bolshevik violence and terror hostile to the Lithuanian state be liquidated.

Customs Stations To Resume Operations by 23 Aug

OW2208212191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1945 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Director of the Lithuanian Customs Department, Valerijonas Valickas, has issued a decree according to which all Lithuanian customs stations must resume normal work no later than August 23rd.

The Customs Department also draws to the attention of the legal authorities and individuals to the fact that the conveyance of goods and valuables across the economic boundaries of Lithuania must conform to the laws of the Lithuanian Republic, established by the government and the Customs Department, regulating the import and export of goods.

Instigators of Jan Vilnius Events Under Arrest

LD2208172291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Republic Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius is conducting negotiations with representatives of the military. They have told him that the order to seize the radio and television building in January came from Moscow. The individuals who issued the order are currently under arrest, however. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Return of Vilnius Media Facilities

Moiseyev Promise to Landsbergis

LD2208155191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] It was announced by Audrius Azubalis at this morning's Supreme Council press briefing that Vytautas Landsbergis held a telephone conversation with Moiseyev this morning. Moiseyev informed him that he is to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev at noon today and he promised he will also discuss the return of our radio and television buildings.

Military Departs Radio, TV

LD2208230291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] After seven months and nine days of occupation by the communist hardliners, the Lithuanian radio and TV has been finally returned to its legal owners, radio and TV staff. Today, at about 1500, the last column of military cars left the center premises, and the red flag that was flying on top of the building was changed with a Lithuanian tricolor state flag right after the state commission on taking over radio and TV premises entered the building. In his interview to Radio Vilnius, Minister (Aleksandr Redishula), who heads the state commission, said that his first impressions were terrible. Everything is broken and smashed inside, and the expensive broadcasting equipment has been completely (?ruined) [words indistinct]. Mr. (Redishula) said that the staff will be able to return back to their usual work places only after the premises are checked for possible installed mines.

Second Program Returns to Air

LD2208162191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The second program of Radio Independent Lithuania is also operating today, because the captured transmitters have been returned to us by Soviet troops.

TV Resumes Transmission

LD2208195591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Esteemed listeners, we have just received a phone call from the engineers in the television tower of Lithuanian Television, which is in Vilnius. We were informed that the equipment in the tower has been put into operation and that programs of independent Lithuanian television can now be watched. I think you can see programs in the Vilnius area and throughout Lithuania.

Distribution of Central Newspapers Suspended

LD2208124591 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius, August 22 TASS—The department for control over the press at the Lithuanian Interior Ministry has temporarily suspended publishing and distributing Soviet central newspapers, including TRUD, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, IZVESTIYA, PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN, on the republic's territory.

During the coup attempt, the "Emergency Committee" banned all publications with the exception of these newspapers.

The department also suspended publishing and distributing in Lithuania the LITVA SOVETSKAYA, TARIBU LIETUVA, OICHIZNA, TARIBINE KLAIPEDA and KLAIPEDA SOVETSKAYA newspapers reflecting the Lithuanian Communist Party's position.

The department banned the TARIBU LIETUVA television and radio programmes, working from the Lithuanian radio and television building seized by the Army in January.

Yeltsin Issues Further Post-Coup Decrees

New KGB Chief, Defense Minister Named

LD2308124391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin today spoke at approximately 1400 in front of a crowd of many thousands on Lyublyana Square in front of the KGB main building. He reported that Vadim Bakatin has been appointed chairman of the USSR KGB. Yeltsin said that he has been instructed to reorganize the KGB.

Yeltsin added that he had agreed on the issue of personnel changes with Mikhail Gorbachev, the country's president.

He also reported that General Shaposhnikov, commander of the Air Force, has been appointed acting minister of defense, stating that chief of the general staff, Mikhail Moiseyev, has been removed from fulfilling the duties given to him after the arrest of Dmitriy Yazov.

According to Yeltsin, Grachev, commander of the airborne forces, is appointed first deputy defense minister.

According to information from the KGB public relations center, the female staff of the KGB have been sent home. KGB officers do not rule out the possibility that the building will be stormed. Yeltsin at the meeting has called on the crowd to disperse, stressing that the putsch has been put down and Russia cannot take risks.

He also reported that the issue of removing Lukyanov has also been agreed with Gorbachev.

Apart from that, Barannikov has been appointed USSR minister of internal affairs, and Vasiliy Trushin removed from that position.

Abolishes Political Parties in KGB

OW2308130791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The RSFSR president has issued a decree abolishing the political departments in the armed forces, and banning all political parties from the Army, KGB and Interior Ministry forces deployed on Russia's territory.

Bans Party in Armed Forces

LD2308121991 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Kozmin and Andrey Surzhansky]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, acting in his capacity as the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Armed Forces on Russian territory, issued a decree banning the activity of military-political departments and organizational structures of all political parties within the Armed Forces of the USSR, as well as in offices and military educational establishments of the KGB and the USSR Interior Ministry on the territory of the Russian Republic.

The decree, dated August 22, says the party-and-political leadership in the USSR Armed Forces and troops of the Interior Ministry and KGB supported and participated in the coup d'etat, and the Communist Party organizations in Army units facilitated the use of force against civilians.

Suspends Communist Press

LD2308121291 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Kozmin and Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree on a temporary suspension of the publication of the PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and LENINSKOE ZNAMYA newspapers as Soviet Communist Party organs, "for active support for illegal actions of the USSR State Emergency Committee and the propaganda of actions, aimed at the forcible overthrow of the constitutional system."

The document signed on August 22, 1991, says that "the coup staged in the Soviet Union and the attempt of a forcible overthrow of the lawful power in Russia showed the danger of the monopolization of mass media organs" operating on the territory of the Republic. TASS, the Novosti News Agency, as well as PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, GLASNOST, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, LENINSKOE ZNAMYA and others conducted an active campaign of slander against representatives of lawful power, misinformed the nation and actually became accomplices of the coup," the document says.

In a special article the decree removed from their post TASS Director General Lev Spiridonov and Chairman of the Novosti News Agency Albert Vlasov for "misinformation of the population and the world public concerning the developments in the country."

The Russian Council of Ministers has been assigned to submit proposals for the reorganisation of TASS. The Novosti News Agency and all publishing houses, printing and auxiliary enterprises situated on the territory of Russia, which are the property of the Soviet Communist Party (with the exception of publishing houses and printing enterprises situated on the territory of the republics integrated in the Russian Federation) will be turned over to the Ministry of the Press and Mass Media of the Russian Federation.

IZVESTIYA's Staff Shaken Up

OW2208131591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to members of the daily "IZVESTIYA," the paper's staff decided that in compliance with a decree signed by the Russian President Yeltsin their Editor-in-Chief Nikolay Yefimov should be dismissed for his collaboration with the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Two members of the editorial board, Sevruk and Mamleyev, were also sacked. Igor Golembovskiy, deputy editor-in-chief, was unanimously elected IZVESTIYA's new editor-in-chief. In the past few days he was on a business trip abroad. The slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" has been removed from the daily's front page. The staff decided that the paper will no longer serve as the mouthpiece of the Supreme Soviet which discredited itself during the abortive coup, and become independent.

'Economic Sovereignty' Detailed

PM2208205191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Decree of the Russian President"]

[Text] By the decree of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin "On Ensuring the Economic Basis of RSFSR Sovereignty" the RSFSR Council of Ministers is instructed to ensure by 1 January 1992 the transfer of enterprises and organizations under Union jurisdiction situated on Russian Federation territory, excluding those whose management has been transferred to the appropriate USSR organs in accordance with RSFSR legislation, to the jurisdiction of the organs of state administration of the RSFSR and the constituent republics of the RSFSR. The aforementioned enterprises and organizations are to ensure absolute fulfillment of state orders and contractual commitments in 1991.

It is resolved that by 1 January 1992 proposals are to be drafted and submitted to the RSFSR president on increasing the scale of utilization of the capacities of enterprises of the defense sectors of industry situated on RSFSR territory in the interests of improving the people's living standards. By 1 January 1993 necessary measures are to be implemented to develop and introduce uniform systems of economic and statistical indicators relating to financial and economic activity, of accountancy practice for economic entities, and of codification of goods in line with the rules adopted in international practice.

Enterprises and organizations situated on or carrying out activity on RSFSR territory (including those under Union jurisdiction) are to be governed by RSFSR legislation and are to apply laws and other acts of the organs of the USSR in accordance with the procedure laid down by the RSFSR Law "On the Operation of Acts of USSR Organs on RSFSR Territory."

The RSFSR Council of Ministers, in conjunction with the RSFSR Central Bank, is to submit by 1 October 1991 proposals to the RSFSR president on: forming an RSFSR gold reserve and diamond and foreign currency funds; determining the RSFSR contribution to paying off the USSR's external debt and the share due it on dividing up foreign countries' debts to the USSR; taxing the foreign currency revenue of enterprises, organizations, and citizens; improving the credit settlement mechanism and restoring finances by providing the opportunity for joint action with other Union republics.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers is instructed to prepare a proposal on suspending the operation of the USSR Presidential Decree of 2 November 1990 "On the Special Procedure for the Utilization of Currency Resources in 1991."

It is established that on RSFSR territory (including the continental shelf) the exploration and extraction of minerals, commercial fishing, and the extraction of aquatic flora and fauna are to be carried out solely on the basis of special authorization (a license). Enterprises, organizations, and citizens engaged in these kinds of activity must obtain the appropriate licenses by 1 July 1992.

By decree of the president of the republic the RSFSR Council of Ministers is instructed to submit by 1 January 1992 proposals on the procedure for licensing the aforementioned kinds of activity and on attracting foreign investments and granting concessions to foreign legal entities for the exploration and extraction of minerals on the territory of the republic (including the continental shelf).

The RSFSR Council of Ministers is also instructed to ensure by 1 October 1991 the creation of a system of RSFSR Union republic customs organs; to agree with the USSR Cabinet of Ministers a procedure for the joint establishment of customs-duty rates on export-import transactions carried out from RSFSR territory. Decisions of Union organs concerning the procedure for the import (export) of goods and the establishment of the amount of customs duties adopted without agreement with the authorized RSFSR organs are not valid on RSFSR territory.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers and the executive organs of power of the constituent republics of the RSFSR are instructed to ensure by 1 January 1992 the registration of all economic entities undergoing transfer to the jurisdiction of the organs of state administration of the RSFSR and the constituent republics of the RSFSR in accordance with this decree.

It is resolved that the RSFSR Finance Ministry Main State Tax Inspectorate prepare and submit by 1 November 1991 proposals governing the procedure for tax organs to register entrepreneurial activity and issue certificates (licenses) authorizing it to be carried out.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers is instructed to collaborate during the implementation of this decree with Union republics and the constituent republics of the RSFSR on questions affecting their interests.

It has been resolved to set up a Committee for the Protection of the Economic Interests of the RSFSR under the RSFSR president to monitor observance of the RSFSR's economic interests.

Monitoring of the execution of this decree is vested in the RSFSR Council of Ministers and the Committee for the Protection of the Economic Interests of the RSSFR.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers is instructed to keep the RSFSR president regularly informed on progress in carrying out this decree.

The decree comes into force from the moment of its publication.

State 'Discipline' Cited

LD2308101691 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree aiming to upgrade state discipline, make more efficient management of the Russian Federation economy and streamline the activity of executive bodies in the Republic of Russia.

The decree, issued today, defines the powers of the president of Russia, who is declared the top official of the Russian Federation and head of the executive in the Russian Republic, and the Government of the Russian Federation.

The president decreed the executive and administrative functions of the state government in the territories, regions, autonomous regions and autonomous areas shall be performed by the heads of administration. They will be appointed by, and accountable to the president of the Russian Federation. The heads of administration may be relieved of their duties by the president on presidential initiative, the initiative of the relevant council of people's deputies, or the initiative of the head of the administration.

The head of the administration shall not be permitted to occupy any other posts in state, commercial or public bodies, agencies and organisations and shall have no right to entrepreneurship.

In order to ensure interaction between the supreme bodies of executive power of the Russian Federation and respective bodies of the republics within the Russian Federation, each republic shall have its representative office under the president of the Russian Federation and the president of the Russian Federation shall have representative offices in each of these republics.

In order to coordinate the activity of the bodies of executive power of the Russian Federation, territories, regions, autonomous regions, autonomous areas, Moscow and Leningrad, the president of the Russian Federation appoints personal representatives to them, who will be members of the control board of the president's administration.

The Russian president's representative offices and representatives will act on instructions from the president in accordance with legislation effective on the territory of the Russian Federation and regulations endorsed by the president of the Russian Federation.

Stabilizing Material, Technical Supply

LD2308111291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 23 Aug 91

[Text] Here is another decree we have received. It is the decree by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) president on strengthening RSFSR bodies for material and technical supply:

Proceeding from the program of the Government of the Russian Federation for stabilizing the economy, changing over to market relations, protecting the economic sovereignty of the RSFSR, and strengthening republican bodies for material and technical supply, it has been decreed that the wholesale and intermediary firms of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply (USSR Gossnab) which are situated on the territory of the Russian Federation are, in accordance with the appendix to the decree, being passed to the control of the RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply for republican and regional programs.

The republican councils of ministers are instructed to conclude the formation of the system for material and technical supply in the third quarter of this year.

Yeltsin Thanks People, Servicemen, Collectives

LD2308074991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Appeal by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the people—read by announcer]

[Text] TASS has just issued an appeal by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin: Dear compatriots! Several days ago I turned to you, to all the citizens of Russia, with an appeal to deal a rebuff to the reactionary group of high-ranking coupists to hinder their desire to stifle the democratic processes in the country and to prevent the possibility of driving the much-suffering people into the chaos of a civil war.

In the dramatic and at times critical situation that developed, the criminal plot was opposed by force, the force of the people, which had cast off the chains of 70 years of enslavement. It was precisely thanks to the support of all sections of the population, especially the young people, the patriotically minded servicemen of the Soviet Army, and the members of the RSFSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], that the decisive actions of the leadership of the Russian Federation acquired true force and ensured the victory over the political adventurists who will be brought to trial.

At the present time conditions have been created and the opportunity has appeared to stabilize the political situation in the country and strengthen the Russian state. The anti-constitutional acts of the notorious Soviet leadership have been declared invalid. The law has once again triumphed.

I express sincere gratitude to the labor collectives, servicemen, and all citizens of Russia for the support that they showed and for their solidarity at such a difficult hour for the Russian state. I express confidence that this hour itself will be the beginning of the long-awaited consolidation of society on the path of movement toward progress. The need for a general strike, as a means of repulsing the coup organizers, has passed. I appeal to all fellow citizens, in the name of national unity, to embark upon creative work directed at renewing Russia economically and socially and at strengthening her independence and power.

Kagarlitsky Suggests Yeltsin-Junta Conspiracy

PM2208141491 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Aug 91 p B1

[Lilian Ohrstrom report: "Yeltsin Is the Junta's Partner"]

[Excerpts] When Boris Kagarlitskiy, currently on a short visit to Stockholm, turned on the television on Monday morning he received a shock. A hard-line conservative group had carried out a coup d'etat in his home country! But when he saw the names of the four members of the junta and the self-proclaimed president they were not what he associated with conservative Stalinists. There was something which did not ring true.

He telephoned his friends in Moscow and they gave a somewhat bewildering picture of events which he had still not seen described in Western media. And at a hastily convened press conference he gave the following picture of events in the Soviet Union.

"It is Gorbachev's own group which is getting rid of him to vindicate themselves. They are getting rid of an unpopular leader who, for the majority of the Soviet citizens, is the man who led the country into chaos.

"If they had been hard-line Stalinists they would have had everything tied up by now and would also have arrested Yeltsin. But that is not what is happening. On the contrary, there seems to be a power struggle and cooperation going on at the same time."

According to Boris Kagarlitskiy, it is even possible that Yeltsin—who so courageously challenged the self-appointed junta and against all the constitutional rules declared that he had taken over command of the Russian Army—knew what was in the offing and that he was not threatened. The point of everything was simply to give him supreme power. [passage omitted]

So, what basis does Boris Kagarlitskiy have for the conspiracy theory he is putting forward?

He said that if the Army had wanted to, it could have used its tanks to bar streets and squares to the demonstrators. It did not do so. The tanks seem almost to have rolled in as if on parade.

His friends in Moscow are also very bewildered by what they have seen on Soviet television.

"All of Yeltsin's activities are being reported and camera angles seem to have been chosen to give the impression of huge crowds of people when, on the contrary, there were fewer people than usual out on the streets to lend Yeltsin their support.

"Yeltsin's group was able pass several troops without the slightest difficulty in order to fortify the building."

These are some of the things which have brought Boris Kagarlitskiy and his friends in Moscow to two conclusions: Either the junta is very weak and actually has control over nothing. Or it has stage-managed the whole thing to reach an agreement with Boris Yeltsin.

In either case these are developments which Boris Kagarlitskiy regrets. Chaos in which various groups are at war with each other and in which the Soviet Union ends up as a number of independent countries in the same situation as Germany before World War II. Or a Soviet Union with, as he puts it, "Tsar Boris," as an enlightened despot and chairman of a union with Russia as the biggest and most powerful member.

"However, it is likely that they will agree to let the Baltic states and Georgia go—but only these," Boris Kagarlitskiy said.

But what would the junta's men gain from this? Why should self-appointed President Yanayev, for example, want to hand over his newly acquired position of power to Yeltsin?

"If you realize that the situation is untenable, what is left to you is bargaining, and then what is important is to have as strong a negotiating position as possible," he replied.

"Yanayev—appointed by Gorbachev not so long ago to replace Ryzhkov, one of the conservatives—knew that if Gorbachev fell he too would fall.

"Pavlov, who was behind the price rises, this spring has seen to it that Gorbachev was blamed for them. You have to understand that people in general believe that Gorbachev was responsible for the economic situation in which we find ourselves.

"You in the West cannot imagine the extent of the hypocrisy which people have gotten used to over decades."

This is something that Boris Kagarlitskiy has protested, and he now finds himself in opposition, first to the Communist Party, and then to Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Now he fears that the Soviet Union's crisis will be resolved by a strong man's becoming a president who in practice will be a dictator.

Boris Kagarlitskiy is one of the young opposition figures in the Soviet Union, a sociologist who spent time in prison for his political activities during the Brezhnev era, who was released under Gorbachev, and who was one of the founders of the Socialist Party in 1990. [passage omitted]

Rutskoy Describes Crimea Meeting With Gorbachev

LD2308063391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0030 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Statement by Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Federation, on 22 August; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Yesterday, as you know, in accordance with the decision of the Supreme Soviet session, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev and I flew out to (Bilbek) airport to collect the USSR president. Why? Because he was surrounded by the junta to such extent that all communications were disrupted and the mass media shut down—a person isolated from society. It was announced that the USSR president was not well. And when we arrived at the dacha of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, we saw his guards who resisted to the very last moment. I think that all those lads, everyone, would have fought for the life of the president.

I saw Raisa Maksimovna. Well, looking at a human being, at a woman, it was possible to see what she went through in connection with this situation, as a wife and as a mother. We saw their children. The decision was made on the spot. Mikhail Sergeyevich agreed to fly in Russia's airplane. He did not fly in his presidential aircraft, but flew Russia's airplane together with the Russian delegation. I think that in the near future he will speak to Russia's inhabitants and the people of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

After all, you understand that tribute should be paid to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who initiated perestroyka in 1985. And the fact that all this time he has not determined the position of which side he would firmly adhere to... these days taught him which side he should join. And I have no doubts that Mikhail Sergeyevich understood why perestroyka was not making headway. Because scum were controlling power in oblasts, regions, krays, and republics. Real scum. And have a look at those oblasts and towns where they supported this SCSE [State Committee for the State of Security] or whatever they call it. Those were secretaries of oblasts and rayon party committees. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov Addresses Supreme Soviet 21 Aug

LD2108162691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1409 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Speech by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, RSFSR, at 21 August session of RSFSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies, esteemed president of the Russian Federation: The extraordinary session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet has been convened during what are truly tragic days for our fatherland, when a self-appointed junta, calling itself the State Committee for the State of Emergency, has removed from power the country's lawful president, has carried out a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, and has placed the country at the brink of civil war.

Together with the removal from power of President Gorbachev, the plotters made it their strategic task to remove the Russian leadership from power, to seize and intern the president of Russia, and progressive figures in the Supreme Soviet and government. This is obvious and beyond all doubt.

These aims have been implemented consistently, toughly, cynically, and on an enormous scale. Troops were brought into Moscow, more than 500 tanks, and some 10 different divisions and individual regiments, including special purpose units of the KGB, the Special Purpose Militia Detachments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and airborne units. The direct objective was to seize the building of the Supreme Soviet and Government of Russia, which was surrounded by a solid ring of armored equipment and military units ready to leap to seize the last bridgehead of freedom. Having taken the building the putchists would have been able to achieve complete victory throughout the whole country and unleash bloody terror against the people who have chosen the path of freedom and renewal of the fatherland.

During these difficult hours we were able to confront the troops with nothing but the will and resolve of the people, and these features were heroically displayed by the people of Moscow. They blocked the path of the putchists, their tanks, and the special purpose troops, they defended the honor and dignity of the first Russian president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Government of the Russian Federation. We admire their courage. [applause] We admire their courage and thank them sincerely.

Protests against the coup staged by the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency continue to build up. With the exception in practice of several oblasts whose leaders hastened to please the usurpers, its instructions with regard to the creation of this committee's structures of power are not being fulfilled anywhere.

True, the PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspapers, television, and some other media are creating a false impression of the real state of affairs, and are failing to show how great is the indignation of our Russian peoples at self-styled committees; they responded without delay to the appeal to the citizens of Russia signed by the Russian leadership. The question arises here, of course, of who needs these newspapers, PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and television, which contain not a grain of truth. Let us nationalize them, and let us genuinely turn SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and Soviet television into truth! [applause] This must be done at this very session! [applause, shouts of approval]

I frankly do not know what governs the collectives of these newspapers, our splendid journalists, who tolerate such servile leaders, and who are ready to serve any regime at all. Yesterday they spoke with obsequious rapture in one tongue when the president was at the head; today a usurper comes along, and the style, the behavior, and morals of these newspapers remains just the same. What sort of newspapers are these? What sort of television is that?

It must be pointed out that in the situation that has come about, the actions of the president of Russia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the government were energetic, but reasonable and calm. Not for one moment did panic raise its head here; and all efforts were aimed toward attempts to resolve the matter peacefully. With these aims in view, a list of specific demands was submitted to Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as virtually the sole legal leader of supreme power as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The vice president, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet were apprised of this list of demands yesterday morning.

I would like to read these demands to you so that you have a real understanding of what was at issue in these demands. They are pretty modest, logically, but they offered an opportunity not only for dialogue, but also for the whole country and the political leadership to make a fairly rapid return to normal constitutional practice.

These are first to organize a meeting between Yeltsin, Silayev, Khasbulatov, and President Gorbachev within 24 hours of receiving this document, and to involve Yanayev in the meeting. Second, to carry out a medical examination of President Gorbachev within the next three days with the participation of expert specialists from the World Health Organization. In this we considered that we could quite easily take upon ourselves—upon the Russian authorities—the foreign currency expenditure even if our Union authorities are not able to ensure payment for an expert examination of that kind. Third, the results of the examination are to be published and made public, and if the results are positive then he is to be provided immediately with the conditions for resuming fulfilment of his duties as president of the USSR. Fourth, all restrictions on the activity of the Russian mass information media are to be revoked immediately, especially in view of the fact that such restrictions were not introduced in the other republics. You are of course aware of the fact that our television channel which has only just opened has been closed. Our Russian newspapers have been closed, and those that are working in practice are those newspapers I have already mentioned, so it is hardly worth repeating them. Fifth, the operation of the State of Emergency is to be revoked throughout the territory of the RSFSR, if only for the duration of the work of the session of the Supreme Soviet—and unhindered departure and travel to Moscow is to be ensured for people's deputies.

The next point—there is another one—is that all types of communications are to be restored for the normal functioning of the Russian leadership. I do not know whether or not you are aware of it, but it has been very difficult for us to communicate with the regions and the republics by virtue of the fact that communications were broken—not to mention the bugging, we are used to that, I do not think we have a single office where that does not take place, be it that of the president or me or some other leader. But let that pass. We do not have any secrets.

The final thing: to declare the dissolution of the illegally created State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, and to revoke all its decisions and instructions. Those were the points and I would like to say—especially in the light of what Comrade Lukyanov said in his statement yesterday—that at first we had a fairly tough conversation along the lines that Anatoliy Ivanovich in some way tried to link this military coup with the policy of the Russian authorities, saying that the reactionary forces, under pressure from the authorities, were obliged to seize power and so on and so forth. Finally, I would like to inform you that in general understanding was reached on the majority of these questions and on the fundamental questions of the nature of this State Committee for the State of Emergency, to the effect that this is an illegal, unconstitutional committee—that is the first thing.

Hence, the state of emergency declared by this unconstitutional illegal committee is false and should be abolished immediately—as invalid, that is. Hence, third, all actions of this state committee are subject to cancellation as illegal. Hence, this also leads to the fourth point, that the above members of this junta are vehicles for a destructive tendency; they have committed grave crimes against the state, and have committed treason, and obviously they are subject to criminal prosecution. Of course we did not say so then, but this conclusion follows logically. Understanding was reached that we will have a restrained attitude in our public statements, and we call for such constructive work from our deputies, as well.

We tried throughout yesterday to establish cooperation with the troops to get their withdrawal started, but as you know, instead of this, what happened was the opposite—a stepping up of the tension, tension in the sense that an even greater quantity of troops and armored hardware started arriving in Moscow, and those troop units that were previously deployed around the White House, having been informed by deputies and becoming acquainted, in general, they started showing their loyalty, they were withdrawn, and new units were herded in, mainly KGB and Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON].

That is the way these events unfolded over the last few days. It has to be said that yesterday a point was made by military chiefs among others, that in such conditions, when the president of the country who is the commander in chief of the armed forces has been removed, then since he is on the territory of the RSFSR, naturally, until the president returns to his legitimate power, these duties should be carried out by the president of the RSFSR. The military even drew up such a draft, I have to inform you. But after we had had a talk with Comrade Lukyanov, it seemed to us that that is not what should be done, and that we might perhaps return by peaceful means to our constitutional order. When we saw for ourselves at 1700 that there was direct aggression going on, an attack, it was only then that the relevant decree came into being. I am saying this so there will not be any false interpretations later about the sequence of the decisions we are making.

I will say quite bluntly that we owe the fact that we are in session here today primarily to the people of Moscow, and also to the energetic—though somewhat belated, it must also be pointed out—intervention of the leaders of Kazakhstan, Ukraine, the Caucasian countries, Moldova—practically all the Union republics. Although, I repeat this was unfortunately somewhat belated on the part of Kazakhstan and Ukraine.

In addition to this, I should like to point out that very vigorous influence was exerted upon those who carried out the coup by the leaders of the Western countries, including President Bush, the British prime minister, Eastern European leaders, including President Havel, and the Bulgarian leader. This morning the Russian president was telephoned by Francois Mitterrand. All of them quite firmly and precisely said that at this stage, we see the sole guarantee of the free development of the USSR to be the position of the Russian Federation, its president, and its Supreme Soviet. In this case, of course, it was evidently a number of decisions by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and of the Russian Government that they were referring to.

Thanks to such understanding of the general political tendency on the part of progressive forces, first and foremost ours, it has for the moment been possible to prevent major bloodshed, although any blood, the blood of one person, one casualty, is a whole world. We regret the tragic victims who died as a result of this coup. Nevertheless, we did manage to halt the tension of this process at a high level. The troops are still here. Some units are being withdrawn. This morning I spoke to Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov and he assured me that the junta has promised him that these troops will be withdrawn. But I don't believe them! [Applause] I don't believe them!

You know, there is nevertheless a limit to all cynicism. Yet the cynicism of our Soviet top leaders [vozhd] knows no limits. There it is. This limitless cynicism, this blatant—I don't know—immorality elevated to a norm of behavior must finally stir our people's anger. I believe that our preelection program and our appointments to certain offices must ultimately pass through some sieve, both of a professional and a moral kind. How does it happen that top leaders—looking you right in the eye—lie in the most impudent and cynical way? I think that this happens only in our society. I do not know of any other society where such generally recognized human norms of behavior are trampled upon in such an immoral way. I cannot understand this. Perhaps there are some wise people here who can understand this.

I would now like to talk very briefly—in view of the fact that this is a fairly broad issue—about the reasons: What are the conclusions and what are the solutions? What do you think? Why did this event take place on the eve of signing the Union treaty? Why did the signing of the Union treaty instill such fear in the counterrevolution, the putchists? Do you not think that there are some very serious and deep-lying reasons here? Remember how we came in for it—and Boris Nikolayevich especially—when we were reproached for not wanting the renewed Union: we supposedly didn't want to work out a Union treaty, to sign it. Remember how much totally unjust criticism there was. When we proved by our real actions that we want and are in favor of a single Soviet Union and are in favor of a single Russia, and when we began in a truly creative way to take part in and effectively headed the work for the elaboration, conclusion, and signing of the Union treaty, suddenly those critics who had criticized us on precisely these issues suddenly fell silent.

First of all they fell silent and then they began to criticize along the lines of: Aha, so this new union is of benefit to Russia and the Russian leadership. They began to look for hidden currents as to why it should be of advantage. Why (?does the voice of common sense run through it?) Why is it of benefit? Because our Soviet Union will exist. A single Russia will exist. It's a simple logic, a sound logic. There's nothing more to it than that. There are no subtleties. There are no political subtleties or intrigues in this matter, nor have there been any. But they had indeed to catch a fish in some very troubled water, as they say, they had to find some intrigues, and some special advantages in this business in order to try to torpedo this Union treaty.

Of course the underlying cause here is as follows: It is a question of the independence of the republics; it is a question of a very serious decentralization of a strongly centralized system of government; naturally it is a question of traditional party and state structures being deprived virtually of all their power. That is to say the interests, the corporate interests in the present case, became the catalyst. To some considerable extent they began to attract to themselves those reactionary forces for whom this new Union treaty was indeed of no benefit.

Of course, this is not the only reason. The other reason is the fact that, indeed, the profound and serious changes that were happening, especially in Russia, did not suit the reactionary forces. It is natural that those changes that had been happening here in the Russian Federation, and those laws that have been adopted here in the Supreme Soviet—you know what immense significance they have had on the Union Supreme Soviet and on the supreme soviets of other republics. It is natural that such a development did not, indeed, suit these reactionary circles.

The third reason, clearly, lies in the fact that after a lot of wavering, fluctuations and indecision as to those who are right-wing, who are very right-wing, and not at all left-wing, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev more or less consistently embarked on the path of change, under the influence of domestic public opinion and under the influence of the world community. This turnabout in the views of the national leader did not suit the reactionary forces. This combination of various reasons—there are, of course, quite a number of them, and I think the theorists and politologists will study them and summarize them perhaps more deeply and thoroughly. But these last couple of days have been crowded enough for us, and, as you yourselves can guess, they are far from being days for analyzing and compiling theoretical reports.

But it seems that it was precisely around all these problems that those reactionary forces who carried out this coup d'etat involved themselves with all this intrigue. It is of a lasting nature; this coup has not gone away. This regime is operating; we must seriously combat this regime and we must reckon with it. There is no doubt about this. Therefore we today have to adopt very complex and very serious decisions on this question. I think that a whole package of these questions should concern precisely those remarks about which I have been speaking, from the point of view of concrete actions.

I would like the other part of the decision to be presented in the form of the adoption of a law approving the actions of our president. That is, the president has adopted a number of decrees. Of course the president has the right to adopt them, but in view of the complexity and extreme importance, and in general the special significance of this particular moment for us, it would be desirable for the Supreme Soviet to approve these decrees by a special law. And I think that here what one has in mind, of course, is the moral aspect, which I think would very seriously unite us in the struggle against the assault of the dictatorship, [repeats] the struggle against the assault of dictatorship, I think here we must be united. Here we must have no wavering or shying away. We may disagree on many matters, but on such cardinal issues of the development of society, the development, the bringing out and shaping of social tendencies, it seems to me that we must be united.

That, esteemed deputies, is more or less what I would like to communicate to you in my short speech. Thank you.

I have the question: What is the position of the Supreme Soviet of the republics within the RSFSR? Is there a link with them? There is, practically with all of them. And Boris Nikolayevich has spoken and I have spoken, and Prime Minister Ivan Stepanovich has spoken, either with the chairmen of the supreme soviets, or with their deputies, or with the chairmen of the soviets of the republics. Here there are at least three tendencies. I know there has been a very serious attempt to assemble all the leaders of our republics at Yanayev's office. He said on television, you see what good politicians we are, all the autonomies of Russia have already sworn allegiance to me. So there you have another trait characterizing the new, so to speak, newly arrived, rather, leader. At once an attempt to split, to set some against others. We had with enormous difficulty taught Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev the error of this—are we then to start teaching all over again? [stir in hall] Haven't we not had enough of this, as it were, do we have to be educating them all the time? We have had enough of it, surely, after all.

There you have his style. Then Lukyanov also said that our republican leaders went to him with certain requests. He said to me at any rate that he had not changed his view of the unity of Russia, and that he allegedly had not accepted them. I do not know about that.

With regard to our conversations, particularly the ones I had, there are at least three tendencies here. Part of the republics unquestionably recognize our stand, reject the claims of the junta, and are not creating any additional bodies. Others are behaving in the old way: There is USSR legislation and RSFSR legislation, and our position on that is unchanged. But there are republics whose view has been that given that there is confusion in the center, we shall declare ourselves free of both USSR and RSFSR legislation, and our own republic's statutes will have absolute priority. Thus, as you can see, a blow is being dealt here to the national-state system. We have made certain progress on this lately, particularly in the process of drafting and signing the Union treaty, and this fragile equilibrium is being upset as a result of this crass interference in this process of the national-state system.

Urges Rooting Out 'Poisonous Suckers'

LD2208140591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0934 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Speech by Ruslan I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet, at a rally near the RSFSR House of Soviets in Moscow—live]

[Text] Dear friends, dear Muscovites: My older comrades have spoken fine words about Muscovites and our Russian people, and their really, truly historical feat, achieved here on these squares in the closest approaches to the building of the Supreme Soviet and the government.

Honestly speaking, when events were developing in such an alarming way and we here, the Russian leadership, as you well know from our actions together with you, were in this building—somewhere in the depth of our soul, of course, there was no certainty that we would put so quick and so decisive an end to this perfidious foe who basely betrayed his duty, his calling, his President, and his people But your resoluteness and your indestructible will helped us to bring an end to the course which, as Boris Nikolayevich described, we adopted as early as 0700 in the morning on the first day of the mutiny, as soon as we learned of it.

As soon as we learned of it, we immediately gathered together, the three of us—Boris Nikolayevich, Ivan Stepanovich and I—and with our own hands wrote the proclamation to the citizens of Russia. Our first document. [applause and prolonged cheering] We immediately reached agreement on what course we would choose with respect to the mutineers. We decided to choose an exceptionally tough course with regard to the mutineers, and not to enter into agreements or negotiations of any kind with them. [applause and cheering]. When you supported us with such resolution, we saw that this was the only correct course which could lead us to victory. And this is what happened.

Today the session, the extraordinary session convened, as you know, on the matter of the coup d'etat, and to assess the political situation, has ended. Our excellent deputies spoke at this session, and rendered homage to the courage of Muscovites and of our people, and approved the course which, of course, led us to victory. But those of our esteemed friends and esteemed specialists, colleagues, and comrades are right who say that an enormous number of plutocrats is already attaching itself to this victory of ours. [whistles from the crowd] But this is inevitable. They will attach themselves all the same, they will become familiar all the same, they will receive all the same, just as if they had triumphed. That is how it is, that is how it has always been in history.

But in order to root out some of the poisonous suckers at the session of the Supreme Soviet today, I proposed that the building on the Staraya Ploshchad [the CPSU Central Committee building] [Applause], the House of Political Education [applause], and also the newspapers PRAVDA, [Khasbulatov pauses after each name, allowing the applause to be heard] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, the so-called RABOCHAYA GAZETA... [Russian president Yeltsin, off microphone, is heard to say: "The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA"] and the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA be nationalized: [cheering and applause] As you know, day by day and hour by hour, and month by month for a year, it has been engaging in slanderous activity against the policy of the Russian Government and the Russian Supreme Soviet and its top leaders. [loud whistling from the crowd] And you know how they picked up with enormous delight the slogans of this—what's it called?—this State Committee for the State of Emergency, and immediately became the underlings of this unlawful regime. There cannot be any forgiveness for these newspapers. [cheers and whistles from the crowd] We therefore call upon progressive journalists, as a start, to drive out the editorial collegia of these newspapers. The workers' collectives should take control of the printing plants, the premises themselves, and then we will see what we should do with these newspapers, which have betrayed their duty to be objective and to report the truth for their people. [cheering and applause]

But my friends, it would of course be very bad and shortsighted on our part if we were to pay attention to this aspect only. Our economy has been taken up a blind alley, and you know by whom.

We have only been seeking to get it out of deadlock. They simply did not allow us to do this over this year. You know, this too. And of course, very serious, well organized work—and work which provides for human needs, for oneself, which provides for our own freedom, based on freedom, on democracy—this is what has to be striven for. For this reason we will deepen our economic reform, come what may, and we really are, I think, in a position to ensure the prosperity of our enormous, most wealthy country, which really has—there is no other country of such wealth—but which has been impoverished by this plutocracy. [applause]

This is what we are striving for. This is what we are seeking to achieve, and this, ultimately, is what you were serving in sacrificing yourselves over three days in the square. Thank you. I take off my hat to you. [applause, cheers]

Silayev Thanks People at Parliament Session

LD2208120791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Speech by Ivan Silayev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, prime minister at the 22 August session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade President, esteemed comrades people's deputies: your government is rejoicing and celebrating together with you. We were very lucky—I am speaking about the government in which a few appointments are yet to be made—to be together with you in such a harsh and tragic situation, to enjoy your support and to form, with the president at the head, a single whole with you. Now all kinds of excuses and declarations of love have started flooding the press. But we remember very well the avalanche of reproaches and threats that came down on us and the Russians as soon as we, headed by Boris Nikolayevich, signed the appeal to

Russian citizens. I think that those who started singing the praises and those who are already in a hurry to hang on, at least partly, to the victory, can be seen with the naked eye today.

Today some esteemed comrades are saying in the press on behalf of the Union that the aircraft was our Russian aircraft on standby. Some say that there were conversations with the president on 18 August, but they were silent about this until 21 August. We and the country asked questions and were worried about the president's state. Was he there? There were rumors that he had been eliminated. That worried the country, because it concerned a legally elected president of the USSR. Therefore, I agree with the proposal of our Russian defense minister that this day cannot remain unmarked, for this will be the debt of gratitude to the Russian people and Muscovites. Those who did not have the possibility to be in person here, at our walls, have adopted decisions locally. The overwhelming majority of executive bodies, sessions of oblast and kray soviets, and so on have adopted decisions in support and have executed the president's decree on disobedience. Praise be to them!

This is precisely the Russian character; this is precisely the Russian soul; this is precisely the Russian character; this is precisely the Russian soul; this is precisely the Russian people. I would like to thank you, esteemed comrade deputies, for showing trust in me and the new government by accepting Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's proposal. I would like to assure you that in the most difficult moments, if they suddenly repeat themselves, the government will be with you again.

Thank you. [applause]

Addresses Moscow Rally

LD2208133291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0929 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Speech by Ivan Silayev, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, prime minister, at a rally near the RSFSR House of Soviets in Moscow on 22 August—live]

[Text] Dear Muscovites, dear Russians: For no more than a year we have all, together, been creating democratic foundations, and throughout this period we have been subjected to colossal attacks, reproaches, and accusations to the effect that we were leading matters toward destroying the Union, that we were betraying the Union's interests. All kinds of filth was thrown at the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers—and there was a lot of it—and the latest putsch was the result. But all the citizens should see that when matters come to the crunch, when there is danger, Russia and the Russian people stop talking, and get down to concrete deeds—and only the Russian people, without hesitating, from the first hours of the attempted coup, came out, revolted, and led this swift movement. [applause] The Russian people, all the peoples of Russia, have displayed their loftiest and noblest qualities which they have had within themselves from ancient times up to now. They have shown nobility, have shown courage, they faced risk, they faced death head on, and they have won. [cheers] Let it be upon the conscience of those political and state figures, both major and not so major, and others who were bidding for time, waiting to see the outcome of the deadly battle of the Russians in order to either later start singing the praises of the mutineers, or organize a funeral feast for the Russian people, which would have perished. But it is good that this has been prevented. It is good that all of us, and all of you, first of all, Muscovites, understood this, and took a correct stand, unhesitatingly.

I think it will be right for us to say an enormous thank you, not only to you people of Russia, but also to those who have followed our struggle, and who have suffered emotionally for us. I adhere fully to the words of our President: Russia has saved the world. [applause]

Dear Comrades! [speaking over continuing applause] It is difficult to assess the feats, both mass feats and specific ones, but they must not be forgotten, they must not [as heard] be marked. And today at the sitting of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session, the Council of Ministers tabled a proposal on the institution of state awards, and on the restitution of the good name of the St. George's cross. [georgiyevskiy krest] [cheers and applause from the crowd] [Russian President Yeltsin, off microphone, is heard to say "Of the Russian orders, the Russian orders."]

Certainly we are also talking about present-day Russian orders. May the first holders of these be those people who displayed steadfastness, strength of spirit, and support for the democratic reforms. Long live Russia! [applause; chants of "Rossiya, Rossiya, Rossiya" taken up by the crowd]

Emergency Session of Moscow City Soviet Begins

Popov Opens Proceedings

LD2208142891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1314 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekor]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—Attempts by those behind the failed coup to force several of the capital's leaders to be on their side, and form an anti-constitutional organ of government, have failed, stated Gavriil Popov, mayor of Moscow. He addressed an emergency session of Moscow City Soviet which opened here today, and which will discuss the situation in the capital.

At the same time the town's mayor announced that certain party leaders at enterprises and institutions used tried and tested methods to attempt to organize party meetings in support of the plotters. In this connection Gavriil proposed "detailed investigation of the actions of those who worked for the anti-constitutional putsch."

"Each and every one of them must be punished," he stressed. The mayor called for the establishment of a commission of deputies "which must resolve the issue of depriving them of their immunity as deputies and making them face criminal responsibility, and possibly of the immediate arrest of those who are guilty, as right now they are destroying documents which compromise them." According to Gavriil Popov, during the putsch "the apparatus of the Moscow organization of the Communist Party engaged in anti-constitutional activity and refused to condemn the plotters."

Regarding the activities of the Moscow City Soviet during those difficult days for the city, Gavriil Popov said that his deputies did a huge amount of constructive work, and went to the most difficult places."

Hero Award Recommended for Yeltsin

LD2208171191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Remarks by Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov at a rally near the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic House of Soviets in Moscow on 22 August—recorded]

[Text] At the extraordinary session of the Moscow Soviet today, a decision was made to petition for awarding Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, in consideration of his exceptional services. The session of the Moscow Soviet has elected Boris Nikolayevich an honorary citizen of Moscow, like Minin and Pozharskiy, like other heroes of our fatherland.

Prokofyev Coup Role To Be Investigated

LD2208165491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1351 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] An emergency session of Moscow City Soviet opened in Moscow today. Our correspondent Yuriy Korotkov was present there. He is in the studio now. Please tell us the details, Yuriy.

[Korotkov] This session was not long; it lasted only two hours. Then the deputies went to the meeting at the House of Soviets of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. There was only one question on the agenda: the situation in the capital which has arisen as the result of the attempted coup d'etat.

You know that before, Moscow City Soviet deputies were not united on many issues; but what I witnessed today can be descibed as great unity, cohesion, and decisiveness in defending democratic changes.

[Announcer] This is astonishing. It is an ill wind that blows no good.

[Korotkov] Yes, it is so. Moscow Mayor Popov and Vice Mayor Luzhkov took part in the work of the session. Gavriil Kharitonovich delivered to the deputies what I thought was a rather deep analysis of the reasons for the coup and of the situation that has been formed in the capital and mapped out ways to eliminate the consequences of this putsch.

In his opinion, every head of the junta had his self-seeking interest. It is fear of the collapsing collective farm system, it is fear of signing a new Union treaty and unwillingness to carry out the conversion of military enterprises, and lastly it is the departyization being carried out in accordance with the decree by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

You know that democratic reforms have gathered such momentum lately that they have delivered a shattering blow to the last stronghold of the party-command-administrative system. One may say that, agonizing, it undertook an attempt to retain its position and to return the country to the past.

[Announcer] I would like to say thank God, they did not manage it. But I am afraid to speak in such a way, because I am convinced that there will be such attempts, unfortunately.

[Korotkov] I must say that to the honor of the people's deputies, it was they who played a great role, displayed great courage and determination during these days of great trials in suppressing and in opposing the putsch, and opposed the junta in the best way they could. They gathered necessary information on the advance of the troops, built barricades, defended the building of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, displayed leaflets, and so on.

I would like to note that the Moscow City Soveet did not recognize any of the junta's decisions. No committees in support of putschists were formed in the rayons.

At this point, as was said at the session, only one people's deputy of the Moscow City Soviet—namely Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee—betrayed the interests of Muscovites. He tried to help the junta set up an anti-constitutional committee in Moscow. According to the information of some deputies, last night the documents that showed the links between the CPSU and the putschists were burnt at the Moscow City Party Committee.

[Announcer] What decision was adopted at the session in connection with it?

[Korotkov] First, the deputies adopted a decision to grant to the Moscow procurator the right to institute criminal proceedings against Prokofyev. Besides, the Moscow City Soviet permanent commission on legality, law and order, and the protection of citizens' rights has been instructed to gather and send the materials connected with criminal actions of some officials during the putsch to the Moscow Procuracy.

In connection with active support for the putsch by a number of publishing houses, it was decided to address the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet with a proposal to transfer their printing houses under the jurisdiction of the Moscow City Soviet.

A decision was also adopted to set dates for implementing the decree by the Russian president on departyization on the territory of Moscow—it is until 15 September—in other words on 15 September this process of departyization should be concluded at all institutions in Moscow.

It was decided to proclaim the day of the funerals of the Muscovites who died as a day of all-city mourning.

[Announcer] When will this be?

[Korotkov] Nothing was said about this at the session, and I cannot give the date. Memorial plaques will be installed at the places of their deaths. Tomorrow, Friday, the session will continue its work, and we will report on it.

Proceedings Against Coup Plotters Started

LD2208142591 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—The prosecutor's office of the Russian Federation has opened legal proceedings against members of the former state of emergency committee who took part in the coup d'etat, the republic's prosecutor general, Valentin Stepankov, told an emergency session of the Russian parliament in Moscow today.

He said, in part:

Yesterday, despite the criticism of inaction against law enforcement bodies, I could not respond for purely tactical reasons.

The Russian prosecutor's office instituted criminal proceedings against the plotters on Wednesday, but we did not reveal it.

After a plane arrived from Foros, Kryuchkov was arrested and brought to a place where he is kept under guard. The sanction for his arrest was issued by the Russian prosecutor general.

Yazov and Tizyakov flew in on another plane and both were arrested and placed into custody.

Interrogations are now under way.

A search has been completed in the office of former Vice President Yanayev. He was brought to the Russian prosecutor's office for interrogation and an arrest warrant has been issued.

One more member of the committee, Bak'anov, is being questioned.

Regrettably, we failed to complete the operation of arresting Pugo. He committed suicide as an attempt was made to enter his apartment. His wife inflicted grave injury to herself and was admitted to hospital in serious condition.

Pavlov is in hospital. Starodubtsev is outside Moscow. Measures will be adopted to subpoena them for interrogations.

The Russian prosecutor's office continues the investigation. Its results will be made public."

Mourning Begins for Moscow Violence Victims

LD2208180291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This morning a rally took place in Moscow at the Sadovoye Koltso and Kalinin Prospekt intersection. However, this was not a rally in the normal sense of the word. There were no long speeches and high-flown phrases. The people came to the place where the first blood was shed during the night of the 20 August, the blood of people who were defending the legally elected authority, the legal parliament, defending them at such a high price. We still do not know the names of the dead, we know nothing of their lives, peaceful until the 19 August. We only know that on that last night of their lives, they were there on the front line.

Today the drops of blood are no longer visible on the tarmac. They have been washed away by the rain and covered by the flowers which have been brought here. [video shows crowds standing silently around bunches of flowers placed on the street. People are also lighting candles. A banner reads: "Kryuchkov out! Yanayev out! And Yazov along with them! The Russian parliament—the law for everybody. Put the traitors up against the wall." Another banner reads: "Russia will not forgive this! 19,20,21 VIII 1991." Buses used as part of the blockade and damaged when the building was attacked are also seen]

Yeltsin, Aleksiy II To Attend

LD2308100991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0840 GMT 23 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Moscow is getting ready to pay its last respects to the defenders of the Russian parliament who died during the night of 20-21 August. Chairman of the Funeral Commission Zaslavskiy, plenipotentiary representative of the Moscow mayor, said that a mourning rally and church rite would be held on Manezhnaya Square. At 1100 the funeral procession will start toward Vagankovo Cemetery, via Novoarbatskiy Avenue and Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment. According to Zaslavskiy, the mourning ceremony will be attended by Russian President Yeltsin and Patriarch of All Russia Aleksiy II.

Gorbachev Aide Shakhnazarov Denounces Coup

LD2208162791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1418 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Statement by USSR Presidential aide Georgiy Khosroyevich Shakhnazarov at RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 21 August—recorded]

[Text] Comrade President, esteemed deputies of Russia: I usually speak without notes; but in order to save your time, this time I would like to read out a brief text, which I estimate will take five to seven minutes.

I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak, because it makes it possible to publicly express my resolute disagreement with the methods by which the state of emergency was imposed. It is not by chance that I am speaking about the methods, because the situation in the country really is one of emergency, and in many respects it requires exceptional, extraordinary measures. But these measures must be adopted within the framework of the law and the political institutions that already exist and are functioning, and not by way of arbitrary decisions. There may be objections that there is no place for legalistic fastidiousness here, the country has to be rescued. But the whole point of the matter is that regardless of the intentions, such actions lead to quite the opposite results. They wanted to strengthen order, but the situation in the country is getting drastically worse. They wanted to strike a blow against separatism, but they have caused an expansion of centrifugal tendencies. They wanted to improve the situation in the economy, but the strikes which have started threaten to deepen the crisis. They wanted to strengthen the USSR's international position, but they have already undercut it substantially.

I will just digress for one minute to say that voices are already being heard saying that in this situation, the East European countries should integrate into the NATO system as quickly as possible. If this takes place, then instead of a bridge and neutral states, we will end up with a whole military bloc at our borders. And so it is with everything. And so, what has happened, in my view, is best described by a well-known metaphor: It is worse than a crime, it is a mistake.

Now, to the substance of my arguments: the choice of moment to impose the state of emergency. It turns out that the main aim of it was to prevent the signing of the new Union treaty. It is no secret that both the extreme right and the extreme left came out against it, those who would like to tear the Union to pieces and those who would like to preserve a super-centralized, totalitarian state which inevitably relies on force. What does this show? Simply that a compromise that is acceptable to all responsible political forces, that is followed by the vast majority of the people, has been achieved as the result of prolonged and intensive work. There is no other way to adopt decisions in a democratic society.

The treaty may well not be equally to the satisfaction of everyone. That is why it is a treaty. But its signing is not the end, either, but merely the beginning of the Union's transformation. Ahead are the adoption of the Constitution and of a new electoral law. All political forces have legal opportunities to expound and put into effect their own point of view. One can only regret the fact that the accord that was achieved at the expense of immense efforts has been upset, one that finally promised to extricate the country from the phase of uncertainty and of the war of laws.

The greatest blow against the burgeoning democracy has been the near elimination of glasnost, the most important gain of perestroyka. Society is returning not even to the era of stagnation—then, at least, reliable information broke through occasionally—but to half a century ago. It is deprived of the opportunity to find out what is going on and is compelled to live blind. From there, it is but a step to return of the earliest terrors, the conversing in half-whispers, all sorts of rumours, and so on.

One cannot fail to be amazed at the way that the urgent tasks facing the country are argued. The government is expected to do in a week or two what it ought to be concerning itself with on a regular basis, to take control of personal food stocks and to seek out funds to improve health care, and so on. The Ministry of Internal Affairs receives the prescription that it must combat crime.

Finally, the assertion that the course and methods begun by Gorbachev will be continued. One asks oneself whether it was necessary, then, to remove Gorbachev from power to this end. True, they refer to the president's illness. So if he were not to have suddenly fallen ill, there would be no need to impose a state of emergency. I consider it my duty to inform you: I was on holiday at a sanatorium on the southern Crimean shore. Mikhail Sergeyevich telephoned me several times. As usual, he was continuing to work intensely while on vacation. We discussed a number of forthcoming events, in particular, his speech at the signing of the Union treaty on 20 August.

The last time the president telephoned me was at 1600 on the 18th. I remembered the time, because I had just returned from a walk and automatically looked at my watch. He said: Well, how about it, shall we be on our way tomorrow? We agreed on a departure on the evening of the 19th. Then I asked if he had any news and offered my judgement on several press articles. At the end of the conversation, I asked how he was feeling, how his health was, because I knew that he had radiculitis. He said he was all right, he had had some therapy, and everything was fine, he could travel.

And so, the method of imposing the state of emergency, if it proved anything, proved only the helplessness of strength. Once again the idea that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev constantly repeats was confirmed: In our society, all issues must be tackled by political means, in the framework of the Constitution and laws of the country. This is something that those who have so far been violating legality, literally provoking the adoption of harsh measures, would do well to remember.

What are we to do? To reply to force with force would be to commit a double mistake. Those who call for calm and restraint are right, but a calm that is not at the price of capitulation to illegality and tyranny. We must say to the organizers of all these actions: Stop, do not make your sins worse, do not lead us into a catastrophe that you, according to your own words, are striving to avoid. And above all, two demands must be implemented. The first: that the troops be returned to barracks immediately. The second: that a group of people's deputies be admitted to the president immediately—as I understand is now the idea—in order to see for themselves whether he is really ill or is in a condition to continue carrying out his duties.

In conclusion may I say a couple of words that have occurred to me simply as a person involved in political science. Now we have also to think about the (?institutional) process that might help extricate the country from crisis. Entering a state of emergency is the same as an aircraft getting into a dive. It is difficult to get out of once you are in that situation. I think that now we will really need emergency measures in order to eliminate the very grave consequences of all this situation, at least in the coming several months.

For that reason, I expect that at the moment it would be fitting to think about the formation of really forming a committee that could, on a legitimate basis and with the consent of the Supreme Soviets of Russia, the Union and other republics, take functions upon itself for the period until the Union treaty is signed. I think such a committee should be formed, chaired by the president of the USSR, and should include the heads—the presidents—of the Union republics, that is, according to the Nine plus One formula. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Vigil Outside Republic Parliament Depicted

914B0134A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Aug 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Report by I. Abakumov, V. Gavrichkin, and V. Nadein "IZVESTIYA Correspondents' Report: In These Troubled Days": "Moscow"]

[Text] Not a single one of the mass media officially authorized by the State Committee for the State of Emergency reported on S. Stankevich's appeal to men from the capital city to defend the residence of the president of Russia against the threat of capture. Nonetheless, no fewer than 70,000 Muscovites gathered on Kransonopresnenskaya Embankment that gloomy night; six armored columns which maneuvered all night around the building of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet did not resolve to storm it.

Most people arrived at the Russian "White House" after a curfew took effect. One of the authors of this report who walked with an overflowing stream of people from Malaya Gruzinskaya Street to the metro station Barrikadnaya around midnight ascertained first hand that the subordinates of General Kalinin carried out his orders altogether unenthusiastically, despite an abundance of posted sentries and patrols.

All who came there that night found themselves in the atmosphere of surprising kindness and cordiality which necessarily develops among people who are close in spirit and thoughts, and are brought together by the looming danger. Also, they immediately found out that the leaders of Russia did not at all intend to sit it out behind the backs of their unarmed fellow citizens. Quite the contrary, a persistent request was heard through loudspeakers to be calm, not to put up active resistance to the military by any means, to let through tanks and armored personnel carriers in the event they approach, and not to try forming live barricades.

Having linked their arms and surrounded "the White House" with multiple human rings, they stood there all night facing tanks and armored vehicles. This is what they told IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy:

"My name is Fedor. I am a teacher, and I work at an orphanage. Justice is above all for me. I could not stay home calmly as naked injustice was being wrought.

"As of now, my wife and children do not know anything about me being here. I saw them off to the countryside this evening..."

"Leonid Zvyagin. Four of us artists have gathered here: Two Muscovites and one from Leningrad—Grigoriy Malyan, Andrey Golikov, and Anatoliy Ovanov."

"What brought you here?"

"We are young, and we do not want the year 1937 to recur. We do not want it, it is terrible."

"Do your families know where you are?"

"Well, I was at home during the day. My wife called from our summer home and asked me: Where are you? The child will arrive tomorrow.... What is happening now is scandalous, it is terrible, it is frightening."

An announcement was made through a loudspeaker: "Attention, prepare gauze or cotton masks in case gases are used."

Four tanks were parked at the corners of the building, and it was obvious that their crews had become everyone's favorites in less than two days. The vehicles were adorned with bouquets of flowers, and the guys were offered sandwiches....

As we learned soon, the defenses of the building consisted of three lines, each with its own functions and resources. The largest, outside perimeter consisted of all of us, the common people who came here responding to appeals by the legitimate authorities and compelled by their civil duty. Standing shoulder to shoulder and linking arms, we formed approximately 35 to 40 human rings around the Russian "White House." A second perimeter consisted of brawny young men, likewise unarmed; however, they knew each other and had received instructions in advance. These were detachments consisting of 100 men each headed by commanders. The detachments had been formed just days ago by a decision of the deputies of the Russian parliament. Finally, the third and last line of defense consisted of professionals from the guard of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the Moscow militia, including its special missions detachments, and officers of the army and the KGB armed with their official-issue firearms.

Approximately every half-hour a request was made through the loudspeakers for defenders to move at least 50 meters away from the building. They explained to us that this was necessary so that civilians would not suffer in the course of a probable battle.

Vigilance, a quality which is seemingly very difficult to impart to us, came naturally and easily here. When it was announced that the storming of the building was very likely to begin with an attack by KGB assault forces dressed in civilian clothes, in view of which outside chains of people were not to let through people carrying bags or garment bags, this was executed immediately and precisely.

Thousands of people, old and young, Democratic Russia adherents and Communists, were invariably friendly after a sleepless night, second in a row for many; they shared the last sips of hot tea from vacuum flasks. There was not a single squabble, not a single person even a bit tipsy, and not a single four-letter word. A female student said: "Had they had just 1,000 supporters like these they would have won."

At approximately 0130 hours, a burst of machine-gun fire rang out from the direction of Kalinin Avenue. Following a pause came chanted words, first "Sha-me!" and then "Rus-sia!" thundered in a crescendo.

Of course, there are all kinds of us, the journalists, and our impressions may differ. However, if there is such as a thing as the lofty honor of the profession, it was brilliantly upheld during this night by Aleksandr Lyubimov and Aleksandr Politkovskiy, known from the "Vzglyad" program. They continuously reported live on the radio for 14 hours. They covered troop movements around "the White House" of Russia, the response abroad and inside the country, the position of the organs of power and individuals, the immediate needs of defense and a system of improvised protection against the Cheremukha gas. They were lucid and calm, and in the most difficult minutes they turned for help to kind and noble humor; stupefying anxiety found an outlet in good laughter.

The most difficult moment came when it was reported on the radio that people had died on Kalinin Avenue. Information received from IZVESTIYA correspondent Ye. Piskunov follows.

Yet another barricade was built next to the building of the U.S. Embassy, where the Garden Ring Road goes through a tunnel under Kalinin Avenue. When at approximately 0130 hours a column of combat vehicles from the Taman Division moved along the Garden Ring Road, the rear hatch of one of the armored vehicles, No. 365 or 563, opened (the number was hard to see, and eyewitnesses memorized different combinations of numbers). A young man wearing high brown boots jumped right on its armor. A burst of automatic weapons fire rang out from within. The guy was killed on the spot and slumped over on the armor. A second man rushed to the armored vehicle; they said that he wanted to pull his comrade out of the hatch and was crushed by the tracks.

We do not know their names. They looked no older than 25.

When the armored column slowed down after entering the tunnel, those who witnessed the tragedy—some of them had bottles of gasoline plugged with cotton wool—tossed two bottles at the armored vehicle. It caught fire. The servicemen managed to leave the BMP [infantry fighting vehicle].

The two dead men were taken away by an ambulance.

Another segment of the Taman Division, the first battalion of which resolved to guard the Russian parliament building, was stationed in the area of the Kutuzov bridge. Five tanks under the command of Major Yevdokimov took up positions next to Hotel Ukraine. Barricades consisting of trucks, buses, stones, and steel framework were erected both in front of and behind them; human chains were in place.

In the buses, they hastily prepared cotton-and-gauze masks and distributed gas masks. Women who lined up in a chain in front of the barricade held a large banner in front of them which read "Soldiers, do not shoot at your mothers and sisters."

Stanislav Tyunin, a lieutenant from the Taman Division and commander of one of the tanks which crossed their guns amid other obstacles, told me: "I have orders to guard the building of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. I got the orders from my commander. We have now been stationed here for a day. We do not have a basic unit of fire."

Another unit of this battalion took up position across the Kutuzov bridge, directly in front of the "White House" building. It was commanded by Major Ilyin. They did not have a unit of fire either.

Many correspondents of foreign publications and radio and TV companies were inside the building itself and among its defenders, along with representatives of many mass media, including those banned by a decision of the

State Committee for the State of Emergency. Observations were made that the jamming of foreign radio stations would inevitably resume. It was difficult to imagine why jammers otherwise vigorously went to work suppressing the broadcasts of Ekho Moskvy, putting on the air false radio stations emulating Ekho Moskvy and directing targeted interference at a radio station operating in the Russian parliament.

According to reports by this radio station, that night RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin, who assumed the responsibilities of commander in chief throughout the territory of the Russian Federation, contacted by phone the leaders of republics and foreign states, including President George Bush, Prime Minister of Great Britain John Major, and the leaders of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Baltic republics, and krays and oblasts of the RSFSR.

I love you and I am proud of you, said the great musician Mstislav Rostropovich. At the time, he had arrived for a congress of compatriots which the new authorities did not dare to cancel, due to which they were forced to listen to many rebukes.

We left the "White House" of Russia just after 0700 hours; however, thousands upon thousands of people continued to stand guard, unarmed and defenseless, but invincible. It was dawn when it was announced that in response to a phone call from RSFSR State Secretary G. Burbulis, KGB Chairman and member of the State Committee for the State of Emergency V. Kryuchkov had said that "the city may sleep in peace."

However, the city was already awake, and six armored columns retreated beyond its limits, claiming at the very least three lives. Until the next night?

Party Secretariat Urges 'Civic Peace,' 'Accord'

PM2208121191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Single Edition p 1

["Statement by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] Our motherland has reached the brink of an abyss. The deepening crisis in the national economy, politics, and morality, the breakdown of socioeconomic ties, and the deterioration of the working people's situation, are intensifying confrontational moods and speeding up the slide toward a nationwide catastrophe. Society has approached the line beyond which innumerable calamities are inevitable.

In this situation, we need extraordinary measures making it possible to concentrate all energies and resources on resolving the main task—the country's survival. However, this must be done on a strictly constitutional basis. Any other way is fraught with the possibility of civil war. The dramatic events of recent days, which jeopardized the development of democratic processes, have patently demonstrated this.

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat advocates the immediate convening of a Supreme Soviet or USSR Congress of People's Deputies session to examine the prevailing situation.

Today we need, more than ever before, statewide will, civic peace and accord, and creative labor in the name of the fatherland. We call on all Communists and all political forces and movements to act in this spirit.

[Signed] The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat

KGB Division Refused To Storm Parliament

OW2208225191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] has learnt from authentic sources that the Alpha group, a special KGB division for fighting terrorism and dangerous political criminals, refused on August 19 to carry out the orders of the State Emergency Committee [SEC] to storm the building of the Supreme Soviet of Russia and arrest the Russian leadership.

Alpha, which consists of highly efficient officers and has taken part in many operations, is known for its accuracy in carrying out any orders of the KGB leadership.

IF has been informed that SEC's order were discussed in all subdivisions of Alpha, and the decision not to fulfil them was unanimous. According to the same source, the Alpha command saw the orders as "anticonstitutional and illegal, and leading to a civil war."

Deputy: KGB To Act According to Constitution

OW2108105091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0945 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From "Express News No. 3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The deputy chairman of the Russian federation's KGB, Vladimir Guliayev, reaffirmed that a position taken earlier by the state security committee that it would act in accordance with the Soviet constitution and instructions from constitutional bodies remained unchanged.

The republic's interior minister, Vladimir Balduyev, declined to comment. According to his deputy, the minister believes it is too early to grant interviews.

Sobchak Urges Gorbachev 'To Step Up' Reforms

OW2208201091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday, USSR people's deputies representing Leningrad and its suburbs, the northwestern regions of the Russian Federation and the Baltic republics will hold a coordinating conference in Leningrad. The deputies are expected to draft a common position for the forthcoming session of the Union parliament. This news was announced by the initiator of the conference, mayor of Leningrad, Anatoliy Sobchak, at a briefing in the Mariinskiy Palace on Thursday.

Mr. Sobchak said that a campaign for immediate convocation of an extraordinary congress of people's deputies was becoming the main strategic task. He also urged President Gorbachev to step up the economic and army reforms, guided by the "Window of Opportunity" programme.

Calls For 'End to Communist Rule'

AU2208192291 Paris AFP in English 1912 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Leningrad, Soviet Union, Aug 22 (AFP)—The Soviet flag was taken down in a ceremony at the city hall here Thursday and replaced with the Russian flag as Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak called for an end to communist rule.

Speaking from the balcony of the City Hall to a cheering crowd of demonstrators, Sobchak said: "The Communist Party should be eliminated from the factories, administration and farming and should become a normal party."

More than 30,000 people were gathered meanwhile in Tvortsvaya Square behind the Winter Palace, site of the first events of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, attending an all night "political action" rock concert billed as "Rock Against the Tanks."

Seventeen Leningrad rock bands were scheduled to perform at the concert, organizers said.

Addresses Leningraders 21 Aug

LD2108143391 Leningrad Radio Leningrad in Russian 1145 GMT 21 Aug 91

["Emergency Address to Leningraders" by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak on 21 August—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear Leningraders: Last night, considering the extraordinary nature of the situation and the decision of the president of Russia, I issued an order that groups and detachments be set up at city enterprises and organisations in support of the legally elected authorities in the city and in Russia.

The aim of setting up such support groups is to ensure that we have a special link with work collectives in order to have assigned representatives from the work collectives to maintain guard at the Maryinskiy Palace at night, so as to involve these groups and detachments of working people in maintaining order jointly with the militia and servicemen, and in the patrolling that has been conducted since 15 July on my orders.

Now we must ensure full order in the city, restraint, calm, [word indistinct] cohesion, and we must not allow any provocations. That is the main tasks of Leningraders today, not to allow the introduction in Leningrad of martial law or a state of emergency, not to allow the entry into Leningrad of any military formations, not allow the use of the Army against the population, not allow any clashes between the population and the Army before the start of work of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. We must carry out these tasks together, because, according to information at my disposal, the situation in the country is getting back to normal. Today there will be a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which will discuss the decision to set up the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] and its documents.

I have received a statement from the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation and Legality—in fact, I am a member of that committee—which declares both the formation of the STSE and the activity of all members of that committee to be fully unconstitutional and unlawful, starting with the activity of former Vice-President Yanayev. This activity is declared unconstitutional, illegal and, moreover, criminal. I hope that such a conclusion will be reached today by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and this is the beginning of the legal process of eliminating the consequences of the attempted coup d'etat.

According to information at my disposal, Defense Minister Yazov, acting as Minister of Defensce and not as member of the SCSE, took the decision to withdraw troops from Moscow and this decision, this order is being carried out. The troops are being withdrawn from Moscow.

I have also been informed from Moscow of the request of the Prime Minister of Estonia on the need to withdraw subunits of the Pskov Paratroop Division which entered Tallinn and seized the Television tower, in order to restore order, legality, and calm on the territory of Estonia.

Dear Leningraders, I have heard that unknown people are spreading rumors about the need to set up, on my instructions, some sort of armed formations to defend the republic, to defend (?the mayor), to defend the Leningrad Soviet. Do not believe these rumors and these people. It is a provocation, because that is exactly what is missing for the plotters from the SCSE, because for them the main thing is to make accusations that the legally elected authorities are carrying out illegal activity; this is a question of accusing the Moscow Soviet and of using the events in Moscow last night—that allegedly criminal elements started to arm themselves and commit some sort of actions against the servicemen, and this led to retaliatory actions as a result of which three people were killed in Moscow last night. They were killed, according to my information, by [word indistindt] tanks against the barricades erected by the citizens. More tragic consequences, more deaths of people.

The blood that has been shed lies on the heads of the plotters, on those who dared to trample on the law, dared to trample on the Constitution of the country in the name of ambitious, selfish interests. I think that in the very near future, not later than 26 August, at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and at the session of the Russian Supreme Soviet there will be a principled assessment of the actions of the persons in question.

Once again I appeal to all Leningraders. No wilful acts, no armed formations, no provocative actions or violent or insulting actions against the sevicemen. I stress that the command of the Leningrad Military District, headed by Colonel General Samsonov, is loyal, and takes an attitude of neutrality. Troops will not be brought into the city, so we must respect this attitude and on no account commit any illegal or insulting actions against the servicemen, only reminding every serviceman that he is the support of his people, that his main duty is to serve his people and not to act against the people. We can succeed in thwarting the plans of the plotters and, in the final analysis, in eliminating the antigovernment, antistate coup.

I would like to stress again that such an attitude of noninterference in the activity of local organs of power, the activity of the Leningrad City Soviet and town hall, which have fully undertaken the job of ensuring order in the city, is also being observed by the organization of the USSR KGB located on the territory of Leningrad and in Leningrad Oblast. As I was informed by General (Kurko), Chairman of the Committee for Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast of the USSR KGB, the organs, officials, and subunits of the KGB located on the territory of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast are obeying and are subordinate to the legally elected authorities, and are carrying out the laws operating on the territory of the country, on the territory of Russia. Therefore, we can be confident in the peaceful development of events in Leningrad. Let us not allow any excesses to be committed in Leningrad, and God forbid that blood should be shed in Leningrad. It depends on each one of us today, on personal discipline, on personal understanding of the responsibility for what is happening at this historic moment to ensure that Leningrad once again, as has happened more than once in history, shows its cohesion, its loyalty to the ideals of freedom and democracy, its readiness to support the legally elected president of the country and president of Russia, to support all actions of the Russian leadership directed at eliminating the antigovernment, antistate, anticonstitutional plot and rebellion by the wretched gang of traitors, the wretched gang of people who in the name of their own interests want to overthrow the 300-million strong people and (?bring upon) one of the biggest countries in the world into the chaos of disorder, the chaos of civil war.

Military Cooperating With Leningrad Leadership

PM2208115291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Nevelskiy from Leningrad under the general heading: "These Anxious Days"]

[Text] The Leningraders resolutely condemned the attempted coup d'etat and supported the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president and the Russian Government. Evidence of this can be found in the rally of 100,000 people in Palace Square and the assessment of the political situation made by people's deputies at an emergency joint session of Leningrad City Soviet and Leningrad Oblast Soviet.

The session deemed the resolutions and other acts of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] to be unlawful. All leaders of organs of state power and administration and enterprises and organizations in Leningrad and the oblast were instructed to be guided in their activity by the constitutions and laws of the USSR and RSFSR, RSFSR presidential decrees, and directives and decisions of the Leningrad City and Oblast Soviets and the mayor of the city issued on that basis. To coordinate actions, the session resolved to set up a permanent Leningrad City Soviet and Leningrad Oblast Soviet staff.

At a meeting with the consuls general of foreign states, Mayor A. Sobchak refuted reports that had appeared in the Western mass media to the effect that Leningrad was occupied by troops and that the legitimate organs of power—Leningrad City Soviet and the mayor's office—had been disbanded. In fact the reverse is true: The city authorities are fully in control of the situation, and only those military units that are permanently stationed here are in the city. Normal public order is being maintained in the streets. Stores, transportation, and communication are working normally.

By decree of the RSFSR president, Vice Mayor Rear Admiral Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Shcherbakov has been appointed main military chief [glavnyy voyennyy nachalnik] of Leningrad and the oblast. Speaking on television, he addressed servicemen of the Leningrad garrison, saying that they must finally recognize: Whose side are they on? The main military chief said that Colonel General V. Samsonov, commander of the district, intends to tackle today's problems together with the city authorities and himself, and that Samsonov is doing far more than he need have done in his extremely difficult position.

It became clear from an announcement from the Leningrad KGB Directorate press center that state security staffers have decided to remain neutral.

The Leningrad City Soviet and Leningrad Oblast Soviet Staff decided to remove the barricades that were blocking the approaches to St. Isaac's Square, where the Leningrad City Soviet building is located.

Speaking on television, B. Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom [oblast committee], said that it is a mystery to him why Yeltsin was not on the State Emergency Committee, or the city mayor on the Leningrad Emergency Commission. Gidaspov went on to state: "I heard yesterday that apparently neither Yarov nor Shcherbakov had come out in support of everything that is happening. I too am one of those who did not know that I was on the emergency commission."

Correction to Yeltsin Address at Victory Rally

LD2208205991

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "Yeltsin Addresses Victory Rally" published on page 67 of the 22 August DAILY REPORT:

Make sourceline read: Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0857 GMT 22 Aug 91 (changing source)

Correction to Stepankov on Procuracy's Actions

LD2208205191

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "Stepankov on Procuracy's Actions" published on page 70 of the 22 August DAILY REPORT.

Make sourceline read: Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0839 GMT 22 Aug 91 (changing source)

Correction to Kobets Addressing Supreme Soviet

LD2208204191

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "General Kobets Gives Address" published on page 70 of the 22 August DAILY REPORT.

Make sourceline read: Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Aug 91 (changing source)

Correction to Silayev Calling Lukyanov Ideologist

LD2208204691

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "Lukyanov Main Ideologist Behind Coup" published on page 71 of the 22 August DAILY REPORT.

Make sourceline read: Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Aug 91 (changing source)

Belorussia

Communist Party Issues Appeals to People

PM2108105591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report from roundup of PRAVDA correspondents' 20 August reports under the general heading "In an Atmosphere of Expectation and Hope"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has adopted an appeal to all the republic's communists and working people. It notes the enforced nature of the steps being taken to restore order in the country. The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau thinks that these steps should not contravene the USSR Constitution and other Soviet laws and should not be implemented at the expense of the interests of working people by causing their standard of living to decline. The appeal notes that relations with the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and its organs at local level will be built on that premise.

The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau urged party committees and organizations to carry out the requisite explanatory work among the population, prevent the negative development of events, and do their utmost to help organs of state power and management to rigorously observe the USSR and Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitutions and other Soviet laws.

The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also adopted an appeal to the Belorussian people urging them to remain self-possessed and calm.

The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium said that the most important thing now is to preserve the integrity of the state, stabilize and strengthen the economy, boost the country's international prestige, and prevent its defense capability from being weakened. It is also necessary in the future to take into consideration the opinion of the people who supported in the course of the referendum the conclusion of the Union treaty. The treaties and agreements concluded by the Belorussian SSR with other Union republics remain the basis for relations between the peoples within the USSR.

Ukraine

Further Reaction to Events in Moscow Reported

Communist Party Condemns Coup Attempt

LD2308060691 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 22 Aug 91

["Resolution of the Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee on the present political moment"]

[Text] Assessing the dramatic development of recent days' events in the country, the Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Politburo condemns the adventurous attempted anti-state coup by the group that embarked on the path of gross violation of the USSR Constitution, disregard of Soviet state laws, and creation of anti-constitutional bodies of power. Its actions threatened the course for all-round renovation of our society and could have led to the loss of democratic achievements of the Soviet people.

The fact that the CPSU Central Committee did not give assessment of those events in proper time and did not inform local party committees about their essence is not justified by anything. This put party organizations in a difficult situation and gave rise to ungrounded accusations about the party and the development of anticommunist hysteria. The Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Politburo deems it necessary, as soon as possible, to examine at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum the situation that has taken shape.

An absolute majority of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] citizens displayed high responsibility, discretion, and self-control during the complex situation. The attempts of certain political forces to incite people to civil disobedience, confrontation, and opposition did not find support among the general public. The situation in the republic in general remains quiet; the normal rhythm of work and public order are ensured. The legally elected power and government bodies are operating everywhere.

The Politburo supports actions of the Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, which oriented with operational efficiency the party committees, primary party organizations, and the republic's communists to assist in every possible way adherence to legality and law and order in the republic; to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the name of civil peace and public tranquillity; and to prevent any actions that could lead to dangerous aggravation of the situation, use of force, and bloodshed.

The Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Politburo confirms the invariability of the political course of the Communist Party of Ukraine determined by its 28th congress and plenums of the Central Committee. The Communist Party considers leading society out of deep crisis and giving real meaning to Ukrainian SSR sovereignty to be its most important goals and tasks. It is necessary to do everything to ensure that the situation that has taken shape is not used by any forces to curtail democratic processes, to violate legality and constitutional rights and freedoms of the person and security of citizens, or to institute a totalitarian regime in any form.

Taking into consideration the acute nature of problems accumulated in society, the Politburo calls on communists and all citizens to concentrate efforts on accomplishing the pressing and vitally important tasks, concluding the gathering of the harvest, selling grain and other agricultural products to the state, preparing for winter, and fulfilling the construction program. The most important thing today is to ensure supply of foodstuffs to the population and regular work of all enterprises and industries of the economy—first and foremost of the electric power industry and transport. The Ukraine's CPSU Central Committee Politburo suggests that the party committees and primary party organizations should intensify work among communists and the population; resolutely rebuff attempts to develop anticommunist hysteria; explain more actively the position in principle of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which consists of allegiance to the course for democratization of social life and building the Ukrainian people's sovereign state, accepting the rule of law.

Kravchuk Explains Coup Position

OW2208223591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, said at a press conference for foreign journalists today that he had been unable to give his personal assessment of the activities of the State Committee for the State of Emergency during the coup d'etat since he headed a collective body, the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

According to Kravchuk, the presidium "was for several days unable to understand whether the decisions and acts of the putschists had anything to do with the Ukraine. [no closing quotation marks as received]

He also stressed that "sooner or later all government oficials in the republic will have to answer for what they did or did not do during the putsch."

Ultimatum to USSR Parliament

OW2108220191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 21 Aug 91

[From the "Express Edition"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukraine has put forward an ultimatum to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The leader of the Ukrainian parliament Leonid Kravchuk has said that if the USSR Supreme Soviet session scheduled for August 26 will not be attended by Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of all republics, the people's deputies of the USSR from the Ukraine will stage a walk-out. In that case the Ukrainian parliament will not recognize resolutions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A similar idea is contained in a statement of the Ukrainian Communist Party's Central Committee. It points to the need for ruling out the emergence of any type of totalitarian regime.

Sub-Carpathian Council Condemns Coup

AU2208170391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Aug 91 p 3

["Sz.Zs."-signed report: "The Military Dictatorship Is Condemned in Sub-Carpathia"]

[Text] Geza Szabolcsi, parliamentary deputy of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] in Szabolcs [northeastern Hungary], and Tamas Mankovits, representative of the Hungarian Cultural Association of Sub-Carpathia [KMKSZ] in Hungary, visited Ungvar [Uzhgorod] on Monday, 19 August, and met the leaders of the KMKSZ and the local Ukranian Movement for Perestroyka [RUKH]. They informed us about their experiences and the negotiations.

The city council officially condemned the military dictatorship and qualified it as anti-constitutional. The council declared that it was not prepared to cooperate with the new central power and called upon the military organs to do the same. Geza Laborczi also told us that there were high ranking KGB officials among the city council members who also voted against the new power. Geza Laborczi managed to talk to a KGB officer, who said that the members of the local Interior Ministry organization were not prepared to act unlawfully.

The presidium of the KMKSZ met on 19 August, but it only made a decision on its relationship to the military takeover at midday on 20 August. The central power banned the functioning of all organizations and political parties in the whole country, including the Ukraine, and Sub-Carpathia within that. The KMKSZ referred the decision on whether to accept this ban to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. Tamas Mankovits, the KMKSZ representative in Hungary, also participated in the five minute closed session. Minutes were taken on the meeting, but they can no longer be published without censorship in Sub-Carpathia, our informants told us. It was said at this closed meeting that the days of the military dictatorship would be finite if the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine supported Yeltsin.

RUKH has since joined Yeltsin's call and is calling for a general strike. The Hungarian representatives talked to RUKH leader Vasiliy Alekseyevich Zilgalov, who told them that the RUKH completely condemned the takeover, but it transferred the right to make a decision to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

Tamas Mankovits told us that it was almost impossible to get information in Sub-Carpathia because soldiers and the representatives of the Interior Ministry had already appeared at the printing presses. It is only possible to receive the Soviet central television; channel 1 of the Hungarian television is jammed and channel 2 and the radio broadcasts cannot be received at all. The Russian and Ukrainian language broadcasts of western stations are also jammed.

Commentary Explores Failure of Coup

LD2208140291 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By Aleksiy Gubenko]

[Text] Well, it is over. The coup attempt in the USSR has resulted in a complete failure. For two days we the journalists of Radio Kiev had no chance to report the developments in the Ukraine and in the Soviet Union in general. On orders of the so-called extraordinary Committee all the external broadcasts from the republics were banned and the transmitters were either switched off or captured by the troops.

Of course, we felt helpless. However, at Radio Kiev no one ever doubted that this state crime was doomed to failure. The analysis of the events is still ahead. What has led to this tragedy? How did state structures function in the tense situation? How did various republics behave in it?

These and other answers will be made later after the session of the Supreme Soviet and after a full investigation of the crime. However, some things are obvious even now.

Who is the loser? Primarily the military-industrial complex. Those structures which by their nature and their place in the power ladder had vested interests in disrupting reforms, in returning to the state of one party, one voice and one parliament. The fact that the military-industrial complex has been the main culprit is beyond doubt. Yet it's important to acknowledge not only for our sake but also for all of you who are listening to us now. In case the traitors took control of the country that would have meant a disruption of all the [word indistinct] towards disarmament and peace in the world. Of course they spoke about their dedication to peace [words indistinct].

As in any battle there are winners as well: Primarily these are supporters of democracy; those who risking their lives defended the White House of the Russian parliament; those in the republics who defied the threat of the generals and their civil accomplices and came out into the streets and began [words indistinct].

However, it would be banal to say that our society has withstood it. The fact is [words indistinct]. After all, right from the start of the coup very few people believed in its success, perhaps only the generals [words indistinct].

More important is the fact that hundreds of thousands, millions, of our compatriots made their final choice in favor of democracy, in favor of freedom. It is the (?exact case when quantity transforms into quality).

One more point: We in the Ukraine anticipated quite anxiously a response of Ukrainian leaders to threatening reports from Moscow. It's good that the leaders of the Supreme Soviet and leading political parties were unanimous in their evaluation of the events. In any case, they spoke of constitution, of law, of the declaration on Ukrainian sovereignty. One can argue today whether Ukrainian response could have been more effective or whether Ukraine should have supported Boris Yeltsin more resolutely. Yet one shouldn't forget [words indistinct] and the significance of the statement finally made by its president. The statement was uncompromising and our citizens can take pride in that.

Finally the traitors hoped to deprive the people of the freedom of speech. Of course, it is possible to capture a transmitter or send paratroopers on [as heard] a radio and TV station. One can even achieve a temporary informational blockade. However, it's impossible to muzzle the people who have tasted freedom. If there's a one way street it's the street of liberty and it is this road that our people have chosen again.

Donetsk Commodities Exchange Ready for Strike

OW2108111491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0614 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Commodities Exchange in Donetsk, eastern Ukraine, will hold a regular day of trading on August 22 and will work as usual, but it is ready to join the general strike at any moment. According to Deputy General Director Victor Prikhodko, the exchange "won't stay on the sidelines" if there is need for action.

As is known, the Ukraine has refused to recognize the laws issued by the State of Emergency Committee and the introduction of the emergency rule in the republic.

Moldova

President Snegur Comments on Coup Attempt

Condemns Coup at Parliament Meeting

AU2108175491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1702 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau, ROMPRES 21 Aug—An extraordinary sitting of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova took place in Chisinau [Kishinev], that discussed the current situation in the republic in the context of the recent Moscow developments, ROMPRES envoys in the Republic of Moldova report.

In opening the session, upon the proposal of Parliament President Alexandru Mosanu, the deputies observed a minute's silence to the memory of the people killed in Moscow on the night of August 20 to 21 in the clash with the military forces that intended to occupy the parliament of Russia.

The president of the republic, Mircha Snegur, made a brief survey in which he condemned the coup in Moscow and emphasized Mikhail Gorbachev's decisive role in the ample process of radical restructuring of the Soviet Union, of democratization of the whole socioeconomic life in the USSR, of international detente. President Snegur mentioned that Mikhail Gorbachev's name would go down in history as "a symbol of democracy, the embodiment of a power apt to consolidate the peoples' constructive forces in the struggle against totalitarian structures and prejudices" and demanded his redemption to his constitutional rights.

Referring to the situation in the Republic of Moldova, the speaker highlighted that the last two eventful nights with unforeseeable evolutions demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the population, of the democratic political forces in the republic.

"We fully support the steps taken by Boris Yeltsin, who proved to understand that the peoples' friendship could be provided different foundations that definitely exclude the interference in another republic's affairs. Yeltsin's firm actions in Moscow and Leningrad intimidated the putschists, thwarting their attempt at the independence and sovereignty of other states," President Snegur said.

The deputies endorsed a telegram of support and adhesion to the actions of the Russian Federation's parliament.

To Create Conditions for Independence

AU2208122991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1138 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES 22 Aug—Thursday at dawn an enthusiastic meeting was held in the Grand National Assembly Square of Chisinau [Kishinev]. Tens of thousands of citizens come from all over the republic to ensure the security of the Moldovan capital city against the military forces that had surrounded it gathered there.

The president of the republic, Mircha Snegur, the speaker of the parliament, Alexandru Mosanu, Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy, virtually the entire leadership of the Republic of Moldova came amidst the crowd.

Addressing the participants in the meeting, President Mircha Snegur assured them that the leadership of the republic would further take firm action to guarantee genuine democracy and prepare the conditions for the proclamation of a real independence of the Republic of Moldova. Mr. Snegur asserted that that question would be approached at the next sessions of the supreme legislative forum.

Parliament Adopts Declaration on Sovereignty

AU2208101391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0906 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES 22 Aug—Despite all extremely grave difficulties and problems confronting the peoples in the Soviet Union, the democratic process became irreversible. Expressing the will of the population in Moldova the parliament adopted a Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova.

Moldova's parliament considers the coup as a grave state crime against the republics' sovereignty which could very seriously affect all peoples. We, the people's deputies of the Republic of Moldova, the declaration shows, back the constitutional organs and democratic forces in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and in other republics which have unequivocally condemned the political impostors' anticonstitutional actions and we demand the undelayed reinstatement of Mikhail Gorbachev to the office of president of the USSR.

Mass Rally Held in Moldovan Capital

LD2208135191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Kishinev, 22 Aug (TASS)—There was a mass rally early this morning on the central square of the Moldovan capital attended by volunteers from all over the republic. In response to an appeal from the parliament and president they have spent three days guarding main installations of the national economy, the parliament and government buildings, as well as national radio, television, and press premises.

According to MOLDOVA-PRES agency, at the rally Moldovan President Mircha Snegur, parliament chairman Aleksandru Moshanu, and Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy, as well as members of the parliament and government, thanked the volunteers for their patriotism, which meant that the introduction of the state of emergency in Moldova could be averted. They called on the volunteers to go back to their homes and not to take the law into their own hands against those who supported the anticonstitutional decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. The rally stresed that parliament has adopted a decision on this issue and instructions have been given by the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB. Legal decisions will be made.

Those taking part in the rally expressed solidarity with the Russian leadership and all the country's democratic forces, which at this time of trial have defended the conquests of glasnost and democracy.

Trade Union Federation Urges 'Calm, Wisdom'

AU2108120591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1045 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev], ROMPRES, 21 Aug—The Presidium of the Council of the Independent Trade Union Federation of Moldova addressed an appeal to the population of the republic whereby it expresses deep concern over the unconstitutional demise of the Soviet Union's president, over the real danger of use of force which can lead to bloodshed.

The Council's presidium calls on working collectives, on all the citizens of the republic to prove calm, wisdom, high civic conscience, to abstain from any rash action that could cause the imposition of the state of emergency in Moldova's territory.

Moldova's trade unions were and are with the whole people, speak firmly for the sovereignty, integrity and independence of the republic, for the observance of human rights, the appeal stresses.

Former Premier Fears 'Scenario Behind Coup'

AU2108065591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1935 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRESS, 20 Aug—At a press conference held Tuesday [20 August] at the Institute of Architecture in Bucharest, Messrs. Mircha Druc and Andrei Bastavoi, Moldovan parliament members and leaders of the People's Front of Moldova, expressed their fears of a possible scenario behind the coup in the Soviet Union.

"Soviet diplomacy has always relied on sensational moves and we are afraid that what is happening is just a scene of a terrifying play. Gorbachev's comeback would mean that no one could fuss any longer about the Union treaty" said Andrei Bastavoi before the numerous journalists present.

"Of importance for us is not so much Gorbachev's return, but the backing of Yeltsin, the only personality that can cope with the problems of the moment, the only man in power who is a legitimate leader, by his instatement on a legal basis one month ago, for the first time in the history of Russia", said Mircha Druc.

Mircha Druc, former prime minister of Moldova, did not exclude the possibility of a Russian exile cabinet, nor the evolution of the present situation towards a conflict of attrition or towards a civil war.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Sends Message of Support to Yeltsin

AU2308083091 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Message sent by Georgian Republic President Zviad Gamsakhurdia to Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin and to the Emergency Session of Russia's People's Deputies on 22 August from Tbilisi]

[Text] Moscow, President Boris Yeltsin, the Emergency Session of Russian People's Deputies: We congratulate you on your victory and wish future success to the democratic forces of the Russian Republic. We express our condolences on the death of the defenders of freedom.

On the first day of the coup, Army General Zhuravlev, Yazov's deputy, was sent to Georgia. He presented several ultimatums to Georgia's leaders and tried to interfere flagrantly in the internal affairs of our republic. The military established control over the airport and railway stations and tried to carry out maneuvers.

Soviet Abkhazia, the (?guest) forces of the center, and the self-proclaimed leaders of so-called South Ossetia totally supported the self-proclaimed State Committee for the State of Emergency. The latter was also supported by the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; this support was announced in their paper TSKHOVREBA.

On 20 August, Georgian President Gamsakhurdia appealed to the Western countries to support all the presidents and parliaments elected by the peoples in the Soviet Union and to help actively to prevent the danger of military aggression against them.

The Republic of Georgia's leadership, the president, and the parliament have not shifted at all from their position. They did not recognize the State Committee for the State of Emergency and completely supported Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Republic, and its parliament.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the president of the Republic of Georgia

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia

[Dated] 22 August 1991, Tbilisi

National Guard Law Ineffective in Abkhazia

PM1908120191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, POSTFAKTUM, BALTIYA, REUTER, UPI, AP roundup: "Protest by the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] An Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the Georgian Republic Law "On Forming Internal Troops—the Republic of Georgia National Guard," which was published in the parliamentary newspaper ABKHAZIYA, notes that the setting up of a call-up point in Sukhumi for republic inhabitants to register in the Georgian National Guard "is provoking tension and destabilizing the situation, giving rise to uncertainty over ensuring the observation of rights and freedoms." The Abkhaz Supreme Soviet Presidium resolved to recognize the Georgian Republic Law "On Forming Internal Troops—the Republic of Georgia National Guard" as having no juridical force on Abkhaz territory, POSTFAKTUM reports.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Holds News Conference

NC2208145091

[Editorial Report] Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 0905 GMT on 22 August carries a live relay from the Armenian Supreme Soviet building in Yerevan of the news conference held by Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

Ter-Petrosyan opens the news conference with a statement saying: "I would like to congratulate everyone on this great victory of democracy over this danger." Noting that it was still too early to provide a definite assessment of the causes and goals of the recent events, he adds: "I am convinced, however, that a new situation has emerged in the USSR and even in the world in the wake of these events, and this will probably require a complete review of all our plans."

Ter-Petrosyan continues: "It is clear that this was a military coup d'etat, a crime against the state organized by the leadership of the CPSU—the reactionary forces within the CPSU—the Army, the KGB, the Internal Affairs Ministry troops, the administrative command apparatus led by the government and Pavlov, and a substantial part of the military-industrial complex." He notes: "We all became convinced that these forces had no serious program to extricate the country from its crisis."

Saying that the coup leaders' goal was clearly "to restore the Brezhnevian era," he points out: "Had they been a bit more determined, they could have found the social base needed for their coup, as there are numerous social forces that welcomed all the measures declared by the committee." He notes that a popular base for the coup could have been found among middle-class bureaucrats, who together with their family members total 70 million people. He adds: "This struggle showed that Brezhnevian bureaucracy cannot reconcile itself to its defeat and will stop at nothing, even a fascist coup, to regain its former position."

He continues: "The dangerous ideology of Russian chauvanism is yet another force that refuses to retreat." He adds: "Unfortunately, this is the dominant ideology among a substantial section of Russian society."

According to Ter-Petroysan: "The third and most important reason for the coup was Gorbachev's short-sighted policy, or to put it more strongly his criminal abetment of this coup." Noting that although he did not believe the claims, "slanderous in nature," that Gorbachev had staged the coup himself, Ter-Petrosyan says: "Gorbachev bears greatest responsibility for the coup. In the first place, he was inconsistent and irresolute and made enormous concessions to these forces. He accommodated and encouraged them in their unbridled lawlessness. Let us remember the bloodshed in Sumgait, Baku, Tbilisi, and Latvia."

Ter-Petrosyan adds: "Gorbachev used Kryuchkov, Pugo, and Yazov to shed the blood of hundreds of Armenians. Seventy-five Armenians were killed in 17 days, and no one heard anything about it." He continues: "The coup was organized by those forces on whom Gorbachev [word indistinct] for six years; they were his men, men who served him loyally, men who colluded with him in shedding innocent blood."

He goes on to note that the West also bears responsibility for the coup. "Western leaders unfailingly put their trust in Gorbachev and brushed aside the republics. They disregarded the fact that new forces, the republics, had developed outside the center and had to be taken into account." He adds: "The West spoiled Gorbachev and did not warn him about dangers which [words indistinct], and thus they contributed to the coup."

Ter-Petrosyan then says that Gorbachev is not the hero of the coup, because it was his protegees who carried it out. Ter-Petrosyan adds: "Thus, he has to account for this crime against the state. He should not be given the laurels which only Boris Yeltsin deserves."

Turning to Armenia's reaction to the coup, Ter-Petrosyan says: "All political parties and organizations in Armenia displayed a healthy awareness [words indistinct] and were able to place the national interest above all else."

Ter-Petrosyan concludes his statement at 0950 GMT and then replies to reporters' questions.

Asked if his criticism of Gorbachev was prudent, Ter-Petrosyan replied: "[Words indistinct] under the present conditions, we need Gorbachev in power to prevent possible revolts within [words indistinct]. He is also needed for the sake of democracy and world peace." He reiterates that "it was Yeltsin who saved Russia and the Soviet Union, and no one can allow these laurels to go to Gorbachev."

Ter-Petrosyan then defends the policy pursued by the Armenian authorities during the crisis. He says: "The Armenian authorities had a clear and consistent policy which they implemented step by step, although this may not have been to everyone's liking." He adds: "All parties in the republic showed understanding toward the stance adopted by the authorities and helped in every way to ensure stability in the republic." He goes on to note that some former members of the Armenian Communist Party had tried to make trouble and lists these people by name. He adds: "The Armenian Communist Party on the whole displayed prudence and loyalty and positively assisted in consolidating the authorities' position." He says: "If the coup had lasted much longer, it could have created a very explosive situation in Armenia."

Asked to comment on the West's policy of supporting the unity of the USSR and its opposition to national liberation struggles, he says: "The collapse of the empire is not expedient, but you should never entertain the idea that the processes taking place in the USSR are dependent on the will of Mitterrand or Bush. Regardless of their wishes, these processes will go on and deepen, and eventually they will have to accept something they may not like. In fact, [words indistinct] in the past year alone, the West has already changed its approach to the Soviet Union. No one could have imagined that relations would be established with the republics by circumventing the center, but this is now taking place; invitations are coming and agreements are being signed. After today's coup, this trend may accelerate."

Ter-Petrosyan then says: "I do not want you to confuse political independence with a global market. Political independence and economic cooperation are two separate things. The Soviet republics can have full political independence and be subject to international law—just like the EEC members—but this in no way prevents the establishment of mutually advantageous economic cooperation. If the Union, Gorbachev, and the democratic forces had embarked on this road the Union treaty would have been signed long ago, but as an economic treaty rather than a political agreement."

In reply to another question, Ter-Petrosyan says: "Neither communism nor imperialism can save a people if they have not been able to create a democratic and law-based state." He adds: "If we are going to create an association of independent and equal states, then all realize that these states do not need a center, because a center is only a burden and a policeman. The coup demonstrated this once again. With the elimination of the center, the Gorbachev (?problem will be solved).

"For me, Gorbachev the man is not important. What is important is that the center leave the stage. The republics fought for this and Yeltsin also was fighting for it, but he was forced to make certain concessions to avert a possible explosion. Despite that, pressures were stepped up and the fraudulent Union treaty was compiled under duress. Then on the eve of the signing of the Union treaty, the coup took place. This should tell Yeltsin something. He should have given serious thought to whether concessions were necessary."

In reply to another question, Ter-Petrosyan says: "Armenia sees a just solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem within the context of the development of democracy."

He goes on to say there will be no changes with regard to the 21 September referendum and the 16 October presidential elections. He also criticizes the National Democratic Party created by the Armenian prime minister, which he says is only intended to promote the prime minister's candidacy for the presidency.

Ter-Petrosyan concludes his 80-minute news conference at 1025 GMT.

Officials Send Message to Russian Leadership

NC2308091691 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Message to Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR; R.I. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; and Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, from Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and V. Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, on 21 August]

[Text] We express our admiration for the courage of the Russian leadership, whose resolute and unerring actions prevented the establishment of an unconstitutional regime bent on leading the country into a bloody civil war.

This is a real victory for democracy, legality, and freedom; a victory that is being greeted by all people of goodwill.

Yesterday the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a declaration in which it expressed loyalty to the deepening of the principles of democracy, opposed the use of force, declared the State Committee for the State of Emergency as illegal, and called for an urgent meeting of the Federation Council to resolve the existing situation in the country.

The people of Armenia are looking to the future with hope and confirm their readiness for close cooperation with the people of Russia. The Armenian people will not forget those who sacrificed their lives for freedom, to whose friends and kin we convey our condolences.

[Signed] L. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet

V. Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Council of Ministers

[Dated] 21 August 1991, Yerevan

Armenian Deputies To Act as Delegation in Moscow

NC2308095891 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Statement issued by the press center of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 22 Aug (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium met on the evening of 21 August under Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. He briefed the meeting about the developments taking place in the country during the day. [passage omitted]

The meeting discussed matters pertaining to the stance of the deputies group selected from Armenia who are to take part in the 26 August extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It was decided to cable and inform the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic] that as an expression of support for the forces defending democracy and a law-based state, and with the intention to coordinate future mutual activities, the Armenian Supreme Soviet deputies group currently in Moscow has been accorded the status of the official delegation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

'Little' Confidence in Armenia's Future With Union

OW2208194791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Armenian parliament, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, said that the putschists' ideal was "at the best, a Brezhnev-style system." "Ideologically, the goal of the coup was to restore the disintegrating empire," he said.

Mr. Ter-Petrosyan believes that among the causes of the tragic events was "President Gorbachev's shortsightedness, inconsistence and concessions to the hardliners."

Mr. Ter-Petrosyan said that back on August 20, the republic's Defence Committee issued a special instruction which, in case the situation deteriorated, envisaged guerilla struggle in Armenia.

Touching upon the possible course of events, the Armenian leader noted that the time had come to put an end to the calls for "staying in the Union which, as we see now, is a country where a neo-Stalinist fascist coup is quite possible." "We cannot be confident in our future in such a country," he said.

Armenian Businessmen Urge Signing of Union Treaty

LD1808040891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Armenia must unequivocally and without delay join in the process of discussing and signing the Union treaty. That is the view of executives from 45 enterprises and organizations belonging to Armenia's Association for Business Cooperation. The enterprises they represent are mostly establishments which come under central control. They employ about 120,000 people.

The appeal, which has been sent to the republic's leaders Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Vazgen Manukyan, says that there should be talks and a search for compromise, so that the Union treaty can be signed in a form which is acceptable to the republic. In this connection the businessmen also say that the advisability of holding the 21 September referendum in its present wording should be reviewed, in light of the decision made on the election of the republic's president. The context in which the document has been adopted is the forthcoming republican referendum, during which the republic's citizens have to answer the following question: Do you agree that Armenia should be a democratic, sovereign state outside the body of the USSR?

Armenians Agree To Release Hostages

PM2108121991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report followed by special correspondent V. Andreyev comment under the "From a Hot Spot" rubric: "After Four Days of Talks"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 19 Aug—An accord has been reached on the release of all 40 servicemen of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops seized five days ago in the Armenian village of Aterk in Mardakertskiy Rayon of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

Major General V. Starikov, deputy chief of staff of the USSR MVD Internal Troops, told a TASS correspondent that the Armenian side guarantees the release of 12 servicemen by 2000 hours Moscow time today, and of the rest during the night.

Thus, the talks on the peaceful settlement of the hostages problem, which lasted four days, with the participation of military personnel and people's deputies of the USSR, Russia, and the Republic of Armenia, have been successfully concluded. We are awaiting now the Armenian side's fulfillment of the accord.

PRAVDA's Special Correspondent Relates the Prehistory of These Events

Speaking with V. Starikov, spokesman for the USSR MVD Internal Troops Command, USSR People's Deputy V. Smirnov reported the terms. V. Starikov declared for his part that he is prepared to make concessions to achieve the servicemen's release. However, there has been no change at the time I am transmitting these lines.

The previous day I flew to the village of Drmbon in Mardakertskiy Rayon and met with villagers. They are demanding peace on their land, demanding that order be instilled and that criminals on both sides be given a fair trial. People are tired of lawlessness and the undeclared war, from which ordinary citizens suffer most of all.

Life in the village is becoming unbearable. The mail service is not working, there are no communications, and there is frequently no electricity or fuel. Shelves are empty in the local store, and pensioners have not received their pension for almost six months. In August 250 grammes of sunflower oil per person was issued, but people here only have memories of butter.

We flew out of Drmbon. A handful of elderly people stood on a knoll and there were observers on the hills. Local residents explained that they were young people who head for the mountains when strangers appear. If they had known that we were Russians, they would not have left. People here believe only in Russian soldiers and rely on them, and they ask for a guard to be mounted only with Russians.

The ultimatum issued by the military with a view to securing the hostages' release expires at 1800 hours Moscow time. One of the latest demands by the military is for the return of not only the servicemen but also the combat hardware and weapons, which were not used out of humanitarian considerations.

Reports have appeared in some mass media that the freed servicemen will be tried for voluntarily surrendering their weapons. Colonel A. Polozov, chief of the political department of the NKAO state of emergency region and adjacent regions, told PRAVDA's correspondent: Those are idle fabrications. The servicemen behaved humanely and prevented bloodshed, he said, and it would be illogical to institute any proceedings against them. What is more, we are prepared to satisfy the request of the freed servicemen who are asking to be sent back to complete their service in the same units where they were serving prior to their capture.

Servicemen cannot be a commodity to be exchanged, although, unfortunately, this has become widespread on the territory of the NKAO.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Meets Military Procurator General

NC2308060391 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Text] On 21 August, President Ayaz Mutalibov of Azerbaijan received the USSR military procurator general, who is in Baku at present. Urgent matters related to the situation in Azerbaijan and the Soviet Union in general were discussed during the meeting. Mutalibov and his guest focused special attention on the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the Azerbaijani rayons bordering Armenia, and matters related to the joint work carried out by the military, administrative, and judicial organs to disarm the Armenian groups and obstruct their armed activities against the people, the army units, and the other security forces.

Ismet Gaibov, procurator general of Azerbaijan, attended the meeting.

Arrest of Baku Democratic Leaders Reported

LD2208213391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today the Mayak radio station reported that Azerbaijani President Mutalibov sent a congratulatory telegram to the Russian leadership. However, according to a report from our correspondent in Baku, several leaders of the Azerbaijani democratic movement were arrested in the city today. There is also information that on the previous day a demonstration condemning the activities of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency was violently broken up.

Azerbaijan Front Protests Stance of Mutalibov

OW2208223391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Massive rallies have been held in Baku today protesting against the position taken by the Azerbaijan leadership during the putsch. Our correspondent reports that a meeting in Fontany Square was dispersed by the police, and three persons were detained.

Meanwhile, the People's Front of Azerbaijan, an opposition movement in the republic, circulated a statement in which it condemns the attitude of President Ayaz Mutalibov to the State of Emergency Committee.

Yesterday Mutalibov came on television, saying that the leadership of Azerbaijan hoped SEC would help it solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and restore peace on the republic's borders.

The statement of the People's Front describes the Azerbaijan leaders as "accomplices in the putsch, who carried out the orders of the anticonstitutional State Emergency Committee" and appraises Mutalibov's stance as a "logical result of the policy of the republic's leadership aimed at turning Azerbaijan into a testing ground for military dictatorship."

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Comments on Communist Party Activities

Quits Politburo, Central Committee

LD2208160791 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] Alma-Ata Aug 22 TASS—According to the information that came today from the press service of the president of the Kazakh Republic, Nursultan Nazarbayev sent to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo a statement that he leaves the Politburo and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The statement says that on August 19-20, a number of documents of the CPSU Central Committee were received by the Central Committee of Kazakhstan's Communist Party. These documents show irrefutably that the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat supported actions and resolutions of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency (SCSE). The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee received a secret memorandum which includes the following words: "...In connection with the introduction of the state of emergency, measures should be taken to ensure that communists assist the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR."

The Kazakh president is of the opinion that the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat fully discredited itself and opposed itself to ordinary communists, showed that it does not know real needs and interests of the people and adheres to totalitarian thinking.

"Besides that, as member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, I received a draft statement of the CPSU Central Committee which actually expressed support for the SCSE and justified its disgraceful efforts. I flatly refused to sign the document," Nazarbayev stated.

"On August 20 an attempt was made to convene an extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Members of the unconstitutional committee were clearly interested in holding that plenum, and this shows that the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat was striving to declare in support of the SCSE. I decisively declared against that plenum," Nazarbayev noted.

In this connection, the president of Kazakhstan deems it impossible to remain in the composition of the present Politburo and CPSU Central Committee and states that he quits these bodies. As head of the Kazakh party organisation he states his intention to pose to communists in Kazakhstan the question of the Kazakh Communist Party withdrawing from the CPSU and forming and independent party.

Bans Party Activity in Offices

LD2208221491 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 22 Aug 91

[By Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Alma-Ata Aug 22 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev on Thursday issued a decree banning activities of political parties and other public organisations and movements in public prosecutors, state security, justice, state arbitration and customs offices, as well as in courts and the police.

The decree says that citizens' participation or nonparticipation in political parties cannot be used to restrict their rights, including the right to office, unless stated in the Kazakh Constitution.

People employed in law enforcement bodies must be guided in their activities only by the Kazakh legislation.

Kazakhstan Studying Plans for Own Army

LD2208175191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] President Nazarbayev has sent the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee a statement in which he announces his resignation from the Politburo in protest against the party's role during the crisis. President Nazarbayev has also signed a decree on the establishment of a republican security council. The commander of the Army deployed in Kazakhstan has not been included in the council, since he supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency. According to our information, Kazakhstan is now studying plans for the creation of its own armed formations.

Session of Supreme Soviet To Open 24 Aug

LD2308102791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Text] The extraordinary fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan will start its work in Alma-Ata tomorrow, the AZIY news agency reports. There will be one question on the agenda—deputies will discuss routine measures for strengthening the state sovereignty of Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Declares Support for Yeltsin, Nazarbayev

PM2308101191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Kyrgyz President's Appeal"]

[Text] Bishkek—"The events of the last two days," A. Akayev said, "leave us in no doubt that an anticonstitutional coup occurred in the country 19 August 1991."

This coup d'etat, perpetrated on the pretext of saving the people, is really directed against the people and may bring catastrophe to our country and all republics.

The worst thing that we could imagine has happened: Armed forces have been launched against the legally elected state authorities in a number of union republics, including Russia. They want to use tanks to suppress the people who are trying to defend their democratic gains. These are the facts; this is the grim, terrifying reality.

I want to say with utmost responsibility that the coup came at a time when the leaders of the republics had done what seemed to be the impossible. We had succeeded in finding ways of escaping from the economic crisis together and deciding joint measures to stabilize the economy and improve the social position of our citizens. It is now obvious that the people who perpetrated the coup d'etat were motivated by one thing: Their desire to preserve their state power that was slipping away from them, along with the totalitarian regime.

Progressive public forces in Kyrgyzstan have condemned the military putsch. The leadership of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee was the exception. Opposing democracy and the constitution, they proved themselves to be political opportunists capable of waiving the interests of their people for the sake of selfish, egoistic, political ambition.

It was not just our sovereignty, our democratic achievements, and everything that we have already accomplished to establish normal human life that were in deadly danger. It is a question of the blood of innocent people being shed on the streets of our cities and villages, of our children dressed in uniform shooting their fathers and brothers, mothers and sisters.

This obliges me to demand the convocation of an extraordinary emergency session of the republic's Supreme Soviet to discuss the prevailing political situation.

A. Akayev declared his full support for the position held by Russian President B. Yeltsin and Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev. On behalf of the republic's people, the Kyrgyz president demanded that A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, convene an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies to decide the question of the fate of President M.S. Gorbachev, nationwide elections of the country's president, and the responsibility of people who have flagrantly violated the USSR Constitution and perpetrated a coup d'etat.

As the head of a sovereign state, A. Akayev has appealed to the world community in the shape of the United Nations and UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar.

Akayev Issues Departyization Decree

LD2208061191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1855 GMT 21 Aug 91

[By Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek, 21 Aug (TASS)—A decree by Askar Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, "on applying the Republic of Kyrgyzstan's law on social associations" was published today. The decree does not permit the creation of party organizations in state bodies; the adoption by parties and other social associations of decisions on matters of cadres policy; the publication by state bodies in conjunction with parties of newspapers and magazines having a political orientation; the holding of meetings and conferences in worktime and at the workplace.

The decree substantially limits the production and economic activities of parties. It prohibits the handover without recompense of buildings, installations, enterprises, and other state property for the ownership of parties or for their use. All privileges for involvement in party work have been abolished.

On Tuesday, Askar Akayev also signed a decree on the creation under the president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan of coordinating consultative bodies—a State Council and a consultative sociopolitical council.

Communist Party Headquarters Nationalized

LD2308084191 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 23 Aug 91

[By Boris Monayev]

[Text] Bishkek Aug 23 TASS—Kyrghiz President Askar Akayev has announced the nationalisation of the Marble Palace, used by the Central Committee of the Kyrghiz Communist Party, by presidential decree. The party will get compensation for the money spent on building it. The home of the local branch of the Lenin Museum is also being nationalised. It will become a palace to promote friendship among nations with a number of national cultural centres.

Coup 'About To Be Accomplished' in Bishkek

OW2208152291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kirghizstan's interior minister Feliks Kulov told newsmen on Thursday that a coup was about to be accomplished in Bishkek. According to him, on August 20 members of the Central Committee of Kirghizstan's Communist Party tried to gather the commanders of Army units stationed in the republic.

However, said Feliks Kulov, the commanders were prevented from entering the Central Committee building by reinforced police units placed at the entrance in time. They were sent to speak with Vice-President German Kuznetsov who had been appointed the head of the republican KGB.

Though all is calm in the capital of Kirghizstan police units will remain on the alert for some time till the situation stabilizes.